

PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.

Published 20 June 1749 by J. & P. Knapton.



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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES and PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, AND GRECIANS.

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(a) ANTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldeſt ſon, whom he had left in Antioch when he ſet out for the eaſtern provinces, ſucceeded him. But his reign was obſcure and contemptible, occaſioned by the miſery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant * ſum (a thouſand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

(b) Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, he had ſent an ambaſſador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans.

(a) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116. (b) Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxvii.

* *About* 190,000 *l.*

The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly ſent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the hiſtorian, and two other ambaſſadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambaſſador to a banquet, they entered into diſcourſe concerning that prince. In the praiſe the ambaſſador beſtowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his addreſs in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exerciſe of his arms; and, to give an example of what he aſſerted, he declared, that this prince, being on horſe-back, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the diſcharge of a ſingle javelin.

The ſame year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a ſon, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. (c) The whole realm expreſſed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœloſyria and Paleſtine diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the provinces, and the moſt conſiderable perſons of thoſe countries went to Alexandria upon that occaſion with the moſt ſplendid equipages. Joſephus, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, who was receiver-general of thoſe provinces, being too old to take ſuch a journey, ſent his youngeſt ſon, Hyrcanus, in his ſtead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who uſed to divert the king with his jeſts, ſaid to him; "Do but behold, ſir, the quanti-"ty of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majeſty may judge "in what manner his father gnaws your provinces." Thoſe words made the king laugh; and he aſked Hyrcanus how he came to have ſo great a number of bones before him. "Your "majeſty need not wonder at that, (replied he;) for dogs "eat both fleſh and bones, as you ſee the reſt of the per-"ſons at your table have done, (pointing to them;) but men "are contented to eat the fleſh, and leave the bones like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confuſed. When the day for making the preſents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only * five talents to preſent, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themſelves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greateſt preſents made by the reſt did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus preſented to the king an hundred boys, well ſhaped and finely

(c) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

* *About* 750l. † *About* 3000l.

B M

finely dreſſed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like preſent for that princeſs. The whole court was amazed at ſuch uncommon and ſurpaſſing magnificence; and the king and queen diſmiſſed Hyrcanus with the higheſt marks of their favour and eſteem.

(d) Ptolemy, in the firſt year of his reign, governed in ſo auſpicious a manner, as gained him univerſal approbation and applauſe; becauſe he followed, in all things, the advice of Ariſtomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poiſon to kings) prevailed over the wiſe counſels of that able miniſter. That prince ſhunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Ariſtomenes frequently took of adviſing him to act more conſiſtently with himſelf, he diſpatched him by poiſon. Having thus got rid of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe ſight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it ſeemed to make him, he abandoned himſelf entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into exceſſes and diſorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the adminiſtration of affairs, but his wild paſſions; and treated his ſubjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at laſt quite weary of the oppreſſions and injuſtice to which they were daily expoſed, began to cabal together, and to form aſſociations againſt a king who oppreſſed them ſo grievouſly. Some perſons of the higheſt quality having engaged in this conſpiracy, they had already formed deſigns for depoſing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(e) To extricate himſelf from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he choſe Polycrates for his prime miniſter, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the moſt conſummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had roſe to the command of the army under his father, and had ſerved in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occaſion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the iſland of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conſpiracy was diſcovered, the expedients he employed on that occaſion conduced very much to the preſervation of the ſtate.

(d) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.
(e) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

(f) Ptolemy, by the aſſiſtance of this prime miniſter, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and ſubmit on certain conditions. But, having ſeized their perſons, he forfeited his promiſe; and, after having exerciſed various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, ſeems to have been very powerful, and in great conſideration. We have ſeen that Ptolemy, a little after his acceſſion to the throne, had been very ſolicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was alſo very deſirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republick ſix thouſand ſhields, and two hundred talents of braſs. His offer was accepted; and, in conſequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the preſents, and to renew the alliance; and theſe returned ſoon after with Ptolemy's ambaſſador, in order to ratify the treaty. (g) King Eumenes alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, and offered an hundred and twenty talents, (about twenty-one thouſand pounds ſterling,) the intereſt of which to be applied for the ſupport of the members of the publick council. Others came likewiſe from Seleucus, who, in the name of their ſovereign, offered ten ſhips of war completely equipped; and, at the ſame time, deſired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambaſſador whom Philopœmen had ſent to Rome to juſtify his conduct, was returned from thence, and deſired to give an account of his commiſſion.

For theſe ſeveral reaſons a great aſſembly was held. The firſt man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had ſaid in the ſenate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the anſwer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the ſenate, in reality, were not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the maſſacre of the Spartans; but, at the ſame time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no perſon happened to ſpeak for or againſt the anſwers of the ſenate, no further mention was made of it at that time.

(f) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. (g) A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Polyb. in Legat. c. xiv. p. 850—852.

time. But the ſame affair will be the ſubject of much debate in the ſequel.

The ambaſſadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and propoſed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendſhip and tender regard which their ſovereign had always ſhewed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to ſay, Apollonius of Sicyon roſe up, and obſerved, that the preſent which the king of Pergamus offered, conſidered in itſelf, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes propoſed to himſelf by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that caſe, the republick could not accept of this preſent without bringing upon itſelf everlaſting infamy, and being guilty of the greateſt of prevarications. "For, in a word (continued he) "as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people "or of the magiſtrates, to receive any gift from a king upon "any pretence whatſoever, the crime would be much greater, ſhould the common-wealth, collectively, accept of "Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was "ſelf-evident; for (ſays Apollonius) what could reflect "greater ignominy in a council, than to receive, annually, "from a king, money for its ſubſiſtence; and to aſſemble, "in order to deliberate on publick affairs, only as ſo many "of his penſioners, and in a manner riſing from his table, "after having * ſwallowed the bait that concealed the hook? "But what dreadful conſequences might not be expected "from ſuch a cuſtom, ſhould it be eſtabliſhed? That afterwards Pruſias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would "alſo be liberal of his benefactions, and after him, Seleucus: that, as the intereſt of kings differed widely from thoſe "of the republicks, and as, in the latter, their moſt important deliberations related to their differences with crowned "heads, two things would inevitably happen; either the "Achæans would tranſact all things to the advantage of thoſe "princes, to the prejudice of their own country; or elſe, "they muſt behave with the blackeſt ingratitude towards "their benefactors." He concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the Achæans to refuſe the preſent which was offered;

* *Polybius, by this expreſſion, would denote, that ſuch a penſion was a kind of bait that covered a hook; that is, the deſign which Eumenes had of making all thoſe who compoſed the council his dependants.* Καλαπεπωκότας οἱονεὶ δέλεαρ.

and added, "That it was their duty to take umbrage at "Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by ſuch an "offer." The whole aſſembly with ſhouts rejected unanimouſly the propoſal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of ſo large a ſum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the reſt of the ambaſſadors who had been ſent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Ariſtenes, who preſided in the aſſembly, having aſked what treaty the king of Egypt deſired to renew, (ſeveral having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions,) and nobody being able to anſwer that queſtion, the deciſion of that affair was referred to another time.

At laſt the ambaſſadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ſhips he offered.

(b) Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome againſt Philip. The ſenate thereupon nominated three commiſſioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of thoſe affairs upon the ſpot.

(i) Philip ſtill retained the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the Romans, with whom he believed he had juſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, becauſe by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on ſuch of his ſubjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to conſole him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him ſome cities of Theſſaly, which the Ætolians had ſeized; by leaving him the poſſeſſion of Demetrias and all Magneſia; and by not oppoſing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumſtances had ſomewhat appeaſed his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repoſe which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. But the complaints that were made againſt him at Rome, having been liſtened to there, revived all his former diſguſts.

The three commiſſioners being arrived at Tempe in Theſſaly, an aſſembly was called there, to which came, on one ſide, the ambaſſadors of the Theſſalians, of the Perrhæbians and

(b) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. *(i)* Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumſtance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of ſo powerful a prince. The ambaſſadors explained their various complaints againſt Philip, with greater or leſs force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excuſing themſelves for being obliged to plead againſt him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a maſter; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendſhip than fear. The reſt of the ambaſſadors, being leſs reſerved, and not ſo moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injuſtice, oppreſſion, and uſurpation; aſſuring the commiſſioners, that in caſe they did not apply a ſpeedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their reſtoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courſer, would never be kept in and reſtrained without a very tight rein, and a ſharp curb. Philip, that he might aſſume the air of an accuſer rather than of one accuſed, inveighed heavily againſt thoſe who had harangued on this occaſion, and particularly againſt the Theſſalians. He ſaid, that like † ſlaves, who being made free on a ſudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the moſt injurious exclamations againſt their maſters and benefactors; ſo they abuſed, with the utmoſt inſolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long ſervitude, to make a prudent and moderate uſe of the liberty which had been granted them. The commiſſioners, after hearing the accuſations and anſwers, the circumſtances of which I ſhall omit as little important, and making ſome particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their reſpective demands.

From thence they went to Theſſalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much diſguſted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambaſſadors ſaid to the commiſſioners, that if the Romans were reſolved to reſtore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their ſovereign was far from having a deſign to

* Ut equum ſternacem non parentem, frenis aſperioribus caſtigandum eſſe. *Liv.*

† Inſolenter & immodice abuti Theſſalos indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina ſiti nimis avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, ſervorum modo præter ſpem repente manu miſſorum, licentiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare ſeſe inſectatione & convitiis dominorum. *Liv.*

oppoſe it; but that, if they did not concern themſelves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that caſe, the ſervice which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, ſeemed to require that they ſhould rather be given up to their maſter than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had uſurped them by open force: that, beſides, theſe cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commiſſioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine theſe differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the injuſtice and oppreſſion which Philip's garriſon exerciſed in their city.

Here Philip delivered himſelf in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himſelf perſonally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him juſtice on any occaſion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the ſervices he had done the Romans on different occaſions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their intereſt, ſo far as to refuſe three thouſand * talents, fifty ſhips of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithſtanding this, he had the mortification to ſee Eumenes preferred on all occaſions, with whom it was too great a condeſcenſion to compare himſelf; and that the Romans, ſo far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his ſervices merited, had even diſpoſſeſſed him, as well of thoſe cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of ſuch as they had beſtowed upon him. "You, "O Romans, (ſays he, concluding his ſpeech) are to conſider upon what foot you intend to have me be with you. "If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to "urge me to extremities, in that caſe, you need only uſe me "as you have hitherto done: but, if you ſtill revere in my "perſon the title and quality of king, ally, and friend, ſpare "me, I beſeech you, the ſhame of being treated any longer "with ſo much indignity."

The commiſſioners were moved with this ſpeech of the king. For this reaſon, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in ſuſpence, by making no deciſive anſwer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in queſtion had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commiſſioners, as he pretended they were; in that caſe, it was not in

* *About* 450,000 *l. ſterling.*

in their power to reverſe it in any manner: that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conqueſt, it was but juſt that he ſhould be ſuffered to continue in poſſeſſion of them: that if neither of theſe things ſhould be proved, then the cognizance of this affair ſhould be left to the judgement of the ſenate; and, in the mean time, the garriſons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretenſions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, proviſionally, to withdraw his garriſons out of the reſpective cities, ſo far from ſatisfying that prince, ſo entirely diſcontented and enraged him, that the conſequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(k) The commiſſioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Ariſtenes, who was the chief magiſtrate, aſſembled immediately all the chiefs of the republick in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wiſdom of their government on all occaſions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much cenſured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently againſt them on that occaſion. The ſilence of Ariſtenes, who did not reply a ſingle word, ſhewed that he was of the ſame opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better ſkilled in war than politicks, and who hated Philopœmen, without [mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints againſt him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to ſpeak with the utmoſt vigour in defence of the republick. They ſhewed, that the whole tranſaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwiſe, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, muſt have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the aſſembly, the members of it, moved with that diſcourſe, came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be changed in what had been decreed, and that this anſwer ſhould be made the Roman ambaſſador.

When it was told Cecilius, he deſired that the general aſſembly of the country might be convened. To this the magiſtrates replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of Rome, by which the Achæans ſhould be deſired to meet. As Cecilius had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly,

(k) Polyb. in Leg. c. xli. p. 853, 854.

that they would not aſſemble; which exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magiſtrates had to ſay. It was believed that this ambaſſador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themſelves with ſo much freedom, had they not been ſure that Ariſtenes and Diophanes were in their intereſt. And, indeed they were accuſed of having invited thoſe Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly ſuſpected by the populace.

(l) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the ſenate with whatever had been tranſacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambaſſadors of Macedonia and Peloponneſus were brought in. Thoſe of Philip and Eumenes were introduced firſt, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before ſaid in the preſence of Cecilius in Theſſalonica. The ſenate, after admitting them to audience, ſent to Philip other ambaſſadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the ſpot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promiſed Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him at the ſame time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the caſtles, territories and cities, which he poſſeſſed on the ſea coaſt of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambaſſador whom the Achæans had ſent, to give the reaſons why they had not made their anſwers to Cecilius; and to inform the ſenate of all that had been tranſacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the firſt exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had reſtored to their country. The circumſtance which moſt exaſperated the Achæans was, to ſee that, notwithſtanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themſelves with the odious commiſſion of accuſing thoſe who had ſaved them ſo unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable bleſſing of returning to their houſes and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impoſſible to ſettle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the reſt of the Achæans had done; and they likewiſe cleared themſelves, for their having refuſed to call a general aſſembly. On the other ſide, Areus and Alcibiades repreſented, in the moſt affecting manner, the ſad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demoliſhed; its

(l) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxix. n. 33.

its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a ſtate of captivity: the ſacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it ſubſiſt during ſo long a ſeries of years, and with ſo much glory, had been entirely aboliſhed.

The ſenate, after weighing and comparing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered the ſame ambaſſadors to enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inſpect thoſe of Macedon; and deſired the Achæans to convene their general aſſembly, whenever the Roman ambaſſadors ſhould require it; as the ſenate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they aſked it.

(m) When Philip was informed by his ambaſſadors, who had been ſent back to him from Rome, that he muſt abſolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the higheſt degree of rage, to ſee his dominions contracted on every ſide, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomaſtes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Caſſander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmoſt violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on thoſe who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commiſſioners, being firmly perſuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the ſtrongeſt terms, on that account. The latter reſolutely aſſerted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that maſſacre, but that it was wholly occaſioned by an inſurrection of the populace. "Some," ſays he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others "for me, a great quarrel aroſe, and they butchered one an-"other." He went ſo far as to challenge them to produce any perſon, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His puniſhment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpoſe*, ſays Appius to him, *for you to apologize for yourſelf; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.*

(m) Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

* *By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that ſuch ſlaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, ſhould leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to ſeize and ſell them as ſlaves, which had accordingly been executed.*

them. Theſe words gave Philip the greateſt anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this firſt interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to ſend immediately Onomaſtes and Caſſander to Rome, to be examined by the ſenate on the affair in queſtion, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himſelf. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himſelf, and heſitated a long time before he made anſwer. At laſt, he declared that he would ſend Caſſander whom the commiſſioners ſuſpected to be the contriver of the maſſacre: but he was determined not to ſend Onomaſtes, who (he declared) ſo far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reaſon of this conduct was, Philip was afraid leſt Onomaſtes, in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, ſhould betray him to the ſenate. As for Caſſander, the inſtant the commiſſioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ſhip; but, at the ſame time, ſent ſome perſons after him, who poiſoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commiſſioners, who were fully perſuaded that Philip had contrived the maſſacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the ſtrong deſire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, muſt neceſſarily ſoon diſplay itſelf; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war againſt that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip reſolved to ſend his ſon Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years a hoſtage, and having acquired great eſteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him againſt the accuſations with which he might be charged before the ſenate, or apologize for ſuch faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations neceſſary for this embaſſy, and nominated ſeveral friends to attend the prince his ſon on that occaſion.

He, at the ſame time, promiſed to ſuccour the Byzantines; not that he was ſincerely deſirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people would ſtrike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their oppoſing the reſolution he had formed of entering into war againſt the Romans. And

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accordingly he defeated thoſe petty ſovereigns in a battle, and took priſoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

(n) The arrival of the Roman commiſſioners was expected in Peloponneſus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an anſwer might be ready for them, ſummoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He repreſented to the aſſembly ſuch things as they might fear from them; the Romans ſeeming to favour their intereſt much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been ſo baſe as to undertake the embaſſy againſt them to the ſenate, where they acted and ſpoke like profeſſed enemies; as if the Achæans had drove them from their country, when it was they who had reſtored them to it. Upon this, great ſhouts were heard in every part of the aſſembly, and the preſident was deſired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a paſſion and a thirſt of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commiſſioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmoſt terror; for, ſeeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had juſt before condemned to die, arrive with the commiſſioners, they naturally ſuppoſed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but diſapprove of every thing which had been done on that occaſion: the murder of thoſe who, on the promiſe which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cauſe; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which had ſpread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flouriſh for ſeveral ages.

Lycortas, as preſident of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been tranſacted againſt Lacedæmonia, undertook to anſwer Appius. He ſhewed firſt, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expreſsly forbid them to make any attempt againſt the maritime cities; theſe exiles, in the abſence of the Romans, could have recourſe only to the Achæan league, which could not be juſtly accuſed,

(n) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 35—37.

accuſed, for having aſſiſted them, to the utmoſt of their power, in ſo urgent a neceſſity. That, with regard to the maſſacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accuſed for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulſe, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmoſt fury and violence on thoſe whom they ſuppoſed had been the authors of their baniſhment, and to whom the reſt of the calamities they had ſuffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the "cauſe of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the demoli- "tion of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; "but then, how can this double objection be made to us at "the ſame time? The walls in queſtion were not built by "Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them ſome few "years ago, not for the ſecurity of the city, but for their "own ſafety, and to enable themſelves to aboliſh, with im- "punity, the diſcipline and regulation ſo happily eſtabliſhed "by that wiſe legiſlator. Were it poſſible for him to riſe "now from the grave, he would be overjoyed to ſee thoſe "walls deſtroyed, and ſay, that he now knows and owns his "native country and ancient Sparta. You ſhould not, O ci- "tizens of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the "Achæans; but ought yourſelves to have pulled down thoſe "walls with your own hands, and deſtroyed even the ſlight- "eſt trace of tyranny. Theſe were a kind of ignominious "ſcars of your ſlavery: and, after having maintained your "liberties and privileges during almoſt eight hundred years; "and been for ſome time the ſovereigns of Greece, without "the ſupport and aſſiſtance of walls; they, within theſe "hundred years, have become the inſtruments of your "ſlavery, and, in a manner, your ſhackles and fetters. "With reſpect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were "ſuppreſſed by the tyrants; and we have only ſubſtitu- "ted our own, by putting you upon a level with us in all "things."

Addreſſing himſelf afterwards to Appius, "I cannot for- "bear owning," ſays he, "that the words I have hitherto "ſpoke, were not as from one ally to another; nor of a "free nation, but as ſlaves who ſpeak to their maſter. For, "in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be "free in the front of the Grecian ſtates, was not a vain and "empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be "real and ſolid; if you are deſirous of ſincerely preſerving "an

" an alliance and friendſhip with us; on what can that infinite " diſparity, which you ſuppoſe to be between you Romans " and we Achæans, be grounded? I do not enquire into the " treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken " that city: Why then do you examine into our uſage of the " Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them? Some of " them were killed: and I will ſuppoſe that it was by us. " But, did not you ſtrike off the heads of ſeveral Campanian " ſenators? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground; " but as for you, Romans, you not only diſpoſſeſſed the " Campanians of their walls, but of their city and lands. " To this I know you will reply, that the equality expreſſed " in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is merely " ſpecious, and a bare form of words: that we really " have but a precarious and derivative liberty, but that the " Romans are poſſeſſed of authority and empire. This, " Appius, I am but too ſenſible of. However, ſince we muſt " be forced to ſubmit to this, I intreat you at leaſt, how " wide a difference ſoever you may ſet between yourſelves and " us, not to put your enemies and our own upon a level with " us, who are your allies; eſpecially, not to ſhew them " better treatment. They require us, by forſwearing our- " ſelves, to diſſolve and annul all we have enacted by oath; " and to revoke that, which by being written in our records, " and engraved on marble, in order to preſerve the remem- " brance of it eternally, is become a ſacred monument, which " it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you, O Romans; " and if you will have it ſo, we alſo fear you; but then, we " think it glorious to have a greater reverence, and fear for " the immortal gods."

The greateſt part of the aſſembly applauded this ſpeech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had ſpoke like a true magiſtrate; it was therefore neceſſary for the Romans to act with vigour, or reſolve to loſe their authority. Appius, without deſcending to particulars, adviſed them, whilſt they ſtill enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at theſe words; but were inſtructed by them, not to perſiſt obſtinately in the refuſal of what ſhould be demanded. All they therefore deſired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleaſed with regard to Sparta; but not to oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themſelves. As to the ſen-

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tence that was juſt before paſſed againſt Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

(o) The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the Achæans ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences relating to this affair ſhould be repealed, and that Sparta ſhould continue a member of the Achæan league. *(p)* Pauſanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commiſſary, to ſettle the affairs of Macedon, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, where great feuds and diſturbance ſubſiſted, eſpecially between the Achæans on one ſide, and the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. *(q)* They all had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the ſenate was in any great haſte to put an end to their differences. The anſwer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themſelves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans againſt the Meſſenians, purſuant to the treaty; or at leaſt, not to ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was anſwered them that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the ſenate did not think itſelf obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and diviſions, and even, in ſome meaſure, give a ſanction to them.

In theſe proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended ſolely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whoſe power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious deſigns with the ſpecious pretence of ſuccouring the weak and oppreſſed.

SECT. X. PHILOPOEMEN *beſieges Meſſene. He is taken priſoner and put to death by the Meſſenians. Meſſene ſurrendered to the Achæans. The ſplendid funeral proceſſion of* PHILOPOEMEN, *whoſe aſhes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of* PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, *who is ſucceeded by* PHILOMETOR *his ſon.*

(r) DINOCRATES the Meſſenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Meſſene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he

(o) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. *(p)* In Achaiac. p. 414. *(q)* Polyb. in Legat. c. li. *(r)* A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii, liii.

he might beſt ſeize upon a conſiderable poſt, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then ſeventy years of age, and generaliſſimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay ſick. However, the inſtant the news of this was brought him, he ſet out, notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition, made a countermarch, and advanced towards Meſſene with a ſmall body of forces, conſiſting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out againſt him, was ſoon put to flight: but 500 troopers, who guarded the open country of Meſſene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was ſollicitous of nothing but to ſave the gallant youths that had followed him in this expedition, performed the moſt extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horſe, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken priſoner by the enemy, who carried him to Meſſene. Plutarch conſiders this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the puniſhment for ſome raſh and arrogant words that had eſcaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: *Ought that man*, ſays he, *to be valued, who ſuffers himſelf to be taken alive by the enemy, whilſt he has arms to defend himſelf?*

Upon the arrival of the firſt news which was carried to Meſſene, *viz.* That Philopœmen was taken priſoner, and on his way to that city, the Meſſenians were in ſuch tranſports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to perſuade themſelves of the truth of what they heard, till they ſaw him themſelves, ſo greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To ſatisfy the violent curioſity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a ſight of him, they were forced to ſhew the illuſtrious priſoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to ſee him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much moved to compaſſion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which reſulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; "That the Meſſenians ought to call to "mind the great ſervices done by Philopœmen, and his "preſerving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis "the tyrant." But the magiſtrates did not ſuffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, leſt the pity of the people ſhould be attended with ill conſequences. They therefore took him away on a ſudden; and, after conſulting together, cauſed him to be conveyed to a place called *the treaſury*. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was ſhut with

a huge ſtone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they impriſoned Philopœmen, and poſted a guard round every part of it.

As ſoon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates cauſed the ſtone to be rolled away, and the executioner to deſcend into the dungeon with a doſe of poiſon to Philopœmen, commanding him not to ſtir till he had ſwallowed it. The moment the illuſtrious Megalopolitan perceived the firſt glimmerings of light, and ſaw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a ſword in the other, he raiſed himſelf with the utmoſt difficulty (for he was very weak) ſat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner anſwering, that he heard almoſt all of them had ſaved themſelves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me*, ſays he, *good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate:* after which, without breathing the leaſt complaint, he ſwallowed the dreadful doſe, and laid himſelf again on his cloak. The poiſon was very ſpeedy in its effects; for Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death ſpread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpreſſibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magiſtrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being ſummoned, it was unanimouſly reſolved not to delay a moment the revenge of ſo horrid a deed; and, accordingly, having elected on the ſpot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmoſt fury into Meſſene, and filled every part of it with blood and ſlaughter. The Meſſenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themſelves by force of arms, ſent a deputation to the Achæans, to deſire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their paſt faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviſeable to treat them as their furious and inſolent revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to ſubmit all their affairs to the diſpoſal of the Achæans, and to receive a garriſon into their citadel. Theſe conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himſelf, in which he was imitated by

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all thoſe who had adviſed the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas cauſed thoſe to be delivered up, who had adviſed the inſulting of Philopœmen. Theſe were undoubtedly the perſons who were ſtoned round his tomb, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

The funeral obſequies of Philopœmen were then ſolemnized. After the body had been conſumed by the flames, his aſhes laid together, and depoſited in an urn, the train ſet out for Megalopolis. This proceſſion did not ſo much reſemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. Firſt came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all ſhedding floods of tears. Then followed the Meſſenian priſoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's ſon, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the nobleſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whoſe arms glittered magnificently, and whoſe horſes were all richly capariſoned, who cloſed the march, and did not ſeem too much dejected at this mournful ſcene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitans of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the proceſſion, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All poſſible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Meſſenian captives were ſtoned round his ſepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpoſe, ordered all the greateſt honours to be paid him, and erected many ſtatues to him with magnificent inſcriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burnt and deſtroyed by Mummius the proconſul, a falſe accuſer (a Roman) as I obſerved elſewhere, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get them broke to pieces; proſecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of diſcovering a hatred for them on all occaſions. The cauſe was heard in council before Mummius. The ſlanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were anſwered by Polybius, who refuted them with great ſolidity and eloquence. It is great pity ſo affecting a piece ſhould have been loſt. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be deſtroyed, though he had oppoſed, like a bulwark, the ſucceſſes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, ſays Plutarch, made the juſt and proper diſparity between virtue and intereſt; they diſtinguiſhed the glo-

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* *This was Polybius the hiſtorian, who then might be about two-and-twenty.*

† *Thirty-ſeven years.*

rious and honeſt from the profitable; and were perſuaded, that worthy perſons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who ſignalized themſelves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers obſerve, that three illuſtrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the ſame year or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two moſt celebrated generals of the two moſt powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a ſufficient idea of his character, ſo ſhall only repeat what I before obſerved, that Philopœmen was called the laſt of the Greeks, as Brutus was ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans.

The Meſſenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the moſt deplorable condition, were, by the goodneſs and generoſity of Lycortas and the Achæans, reſtored to the league from which they had withdrawn themſelves. Several other cities, which, from the example they ſet them, had alſo renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a ſeaſonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and exceſſive ſeverity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to deſpair; and ſo far from proving a remedy to evils, only enflames and exaſperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Meſſenians, the ambaſſadors were addreſſed in terms quite different from thoſe which had been uſed to them before. The ſenate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from Italy to Meſſene; an anſwer which manifeſtly diſcovers the inſincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their tranſactions with other nations. They ſeemed, at firſt, deſirous of giving the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had ſought all opportunities to ſerve them.

It is manifeſt on this occaſion, that the Roman ſenate conſented to what had been tranſacted, becauſe it was not in their power to oppoſe it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who poſſeſſed almoſt the whole force of Peloponneſus; that they were very cautious of giving the leaſt umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians

were diſguſted, and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in ſome enterprize which might have been of ill conſequence to the Romans.

(s) I have related Hannibal's death in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great ſervice. Both ſides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occaſion Eumenes's fleet conſiſted of a much greater number of ſhips than that of Pruſias. But Hannibal oppoſed ſtratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous ſerpents, and filled ſeveral earthen veſſels with them. The inſtant the ſignal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and ſailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the ſame time of a ſign by which they ſhould diſtinguiſh it from the reſt;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwiſe than by throwing the earthen veſſels into the reſt of the gallies. At firſt this was only laughed at; the ſailors not imagining that theſe earthen veſſels could be of the leaſt ſervice: but when the ſerpents were ſeen gliding over every part of the gallies, the ſoldiers and rowers, now ſtudious only of preſerving themſelves from thoſe venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was ſo warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king made his eſcape. Pruſias, by Hannibal's aſſiſtance, gained ſeveral victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, becauſe the victims had not been propitious; *What* *, ſays Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beaſt than upon the counſel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Pruſias to deliver him up, he took a doſe of poiſon, which brought him to his end.

(t) I before obſerved that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambaſſadors being returned, and having reported the anſwer which had been received from the ſenate, Lycortas aſſembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league.

(s) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c x.—xii. Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4. *(t)* A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quàm imperatori veteri mavis credere?——Unius hoſtiæ jecinori longo experimento teſtatam gloriam ſuam poſtponi, æquo animo non tulit. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 7.

league. To incline the populace to it, he repreſented that the Romans, to whoſe diſpoſal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had declared to the ambaſſadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, were very deſirous of that union, which (he obſerved) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the firſt exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be baniſhed from the city, and other citizens ſubſtituted in their room. But Diophanes and ſome other perſons undertook to defend the cauſe of the exiles. However, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, the council decreed that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the league, and was ſo accordingly. With regard to the firſt exiles, thoſe only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt againſt the Achæan republick.

When the affair was ended, ambaſſadors were ſent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The ſenate, after giving audience to thoſe ſent by Sparta and by the exiles, ſaid nothing to the ambaſſadors, which tended to ſhew that they were diſguſted in any manner at what had paſſed. With reſpect to thoſe who had been lately ſent into baniſhment, the ſenate promiſed to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the ſenate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Meſſenians had been reſtored to their former ſtate: and the ſenators were not only ſatisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

(u) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no ſooner returned from Rome into Peloponneſus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the ſenate had ſent by them, and by which they were deſired to permit the exiles to ſettle again in their native country. It was anſwered, that the purport of thoſe letters ſhould be conſidered at the return of the Achæan ambaſſadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the ſenate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not ſo much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requiſite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

(x) Hyper-

(u) A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb in Leg. c. liv.

(x) Hyperbates having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice ſhould be taken of the letters which the ſenate had wrote, concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles who had been baniſhed from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When "the Romans," ſays he, "liſten favourably to ſuch com-"plaints and intreaties of unfortunate perſons, as appear to "them juſt and reaſonable, they, in this, act a very juſt "part. But when it is repreſented to them, that among "the favours which are requeſted at their hands, ſome are "not in their power to beſtow, and others would reflect "diſhonour, and be very prejudicial to their allies; on "theſe occaſions they do not uſe to perſiſt obſtinately in their "opinions, or exact from ſuch allies an implicit obedience "to their commands. This is exactly our caſe at preſent. "Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their or-"ders without infringing the ſacred oaths we have taken, "without violating the laws on which our league is founded; "and then they will undoubtedly wave their reſolutions, and "confeſs, that it is with the greateſt reaſon we refuſe to "obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be ſacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was reſolved that a deputation ſhould be ſent to the ſenate, in order to repreſent the reaſons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lyſiades, and Aratus, were the ambaſſadors to whom inſtructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When theſe ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates being introduced into the ſenate, acted in direct oppoſition to his inſtructions. He not only had the aſſurance to cenſure thoſe who had differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the ſenate what they ſhould do. "If the "Greeks," ſays he, directing himſelf to the ſenators, "do "not obey you; if they pay no regard either to the letters "or orders which you ſend them, you muſt blame yourſelves "only for it. In all the ſtates of Greece, there are now two "parties; one of which aſſerts, that all your orders ought "to be obeyed; and that laws and treaties, in a word, that "all things ſhould pay homage to your will and pleaſure: "the other party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, trea-"ties,

(x) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Polyb. in Leg. c. lviii.

" ties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are " for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to " them. Of theſe two parties, the laſt ſuits beſt with the " genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greateſt " influence over the people. What is the conſequence of " this? Thoſe who comply with your meaſures are deteſted " by the common people, whilſt ſuch as oppoſe your " decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, if the " ſenate would ſhew ever ſo little favour to ſuch as eſpouſe " their intereſt cordially, the chief magiſtrates and officers " of all the republicks would declare for the Romans, and " the people, intimidated by this, would ſoon follow their " example. But, whilſt you ſhew an indifference on this " head, all the chiefs will certainly oppoſe you, as the in- " fallible means of acquiring the love and reſpect of the " people. And accordingly we ſee, that many people, " whoſe only merit conſiſts in their making the ſtrongeſt " oppoſition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the " defence and preſervation of the laws of their country, " have been raiſed to the moſt exalted employments in their " country. In caſe you do not much value whether the " Greeks are, or are not, at your devotion, then, indeed, " your preſent conduct ſuits exactly your ſentiments. But if " you would have them execute your orders, and receive " your letters with reſpect, reflect ſeriouſly on this matter; " otherwiſe be aſſured that they will, on all occaſions, de- " clare againſt your commands. You may judge of the " truth of this from [their preſent behaviour towards you. " How long is it ſince you commanded them, by your let- " ters, to recall the Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheleſs, ſo " far from recalling them, they have publiſhed a quite con- " trary decree, and have bound themſelves by oath never " to reinſtate them. This ought to be a leſſon to you, and " ſhew how cautious you ſhould be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this ſpeech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their buſineſs in few words, but in ſuch as were well adapted to move compaſſion, and then retired.

A ſpeech ſo well calculated to favour the intereſt of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the ſenate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themſelves ſpontaneouſly into the arms of ſlavery; proſtituted the liberty of which their anceſtors had been ſo exceedingly jealous, and paid a ſubmiſſion and homage to the Romans, which they had always refuſed to the *Great King* of Perſia. Some flatterers

flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardleſs of every thing but their intereſt, ſold and ſacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; diſcovered the weak ſide of republicks with regard to their domeſtick affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at laſt cruſhed; and furniſhed themſelves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In conſequence of this ſpeech, it was ſoon concluded, that it would be proper to increaſe the power and credit of thoſe who made it their buſineſs to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe it. Polybius obſerves, that this was the firſt time that the fatal reſolution was taken, to humble and depreſs thoſe who, in their reſpective countries, had the moſt noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all ſuch who, either right or wrong, ſhould declare in favour of the Romans; a reſolution, which ſoon after increaſed the herd of flatterers in all republicks, and very much leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the conſtant maxims of their policy, to oppreſs by all poſſible methods whoever ventured to oppoſe their ambitious projects. This ſingle maxim may ſerve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republick, and to ſhew us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they ſometimes diſplay, but which does not long ſupport itſelf, and of which a juſt judgment cannot be formed but by the conſequences.

To conclude, the ſenate, in order to get the exiles reſtored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incenſe all Greece againſt the Achæans. And, in their anſwer to the ambaſſadors, they did not make the leaſt mention of any one but Callicrates, whoſe example the ſenate wiſhed the magiſtrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this anſwer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cauſe of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a ſort of equality had been obſerved between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the conſiderable ſervices the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the moſt perilous junctures, as in the wars againſt Philip and

Antiochus. The members of this league diſtinguiſhed themſelves at that time in a moſt conſpicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the ſhining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treaſon, for we may juſtly beſtow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, ſays Polybius, noble in their ſentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cauſe of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whoſe fidelity they may ſafely depend, ſuggeſts to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themſelves, ſhould they grant certain favours; they generally return to a juſt way of thinking, and correct, ſo far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiſs. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates ſtudies nothing but how he may beſt work upon their paſſions by flattery. He had been ſent to Rome, to plead the cauſe of the Achæans, and by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares againſt his ſuperiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he ſpread ſo artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to ſuch a degree, that he got himſelf elected captain-general. He was no ſooner inveſted with this command, but he reſtored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Meſſene to their country.

Polybius, on this occaſion, praiſes exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderneſs with which they liſten to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readineſs to atone for ſuch unjuſt actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauſes he gives them will not admit of great abridgement. The reader muſt call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. We are not to expect from an hiſtorian, who is ſubject and dependent, ſo much veracity as he very poſſibly would have obſerved in a free ſtate, and at a time when men were permitted to ſpeak the truth; and we muſt not blindly believe every circumſtance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and ſpeak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themſelves did not ſcruple to commit injuſtice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for

for that purpoſe, which procured them the ſame advantage, and ſerved to conceal their unjuſt policy.

(y) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war againſt Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very ſtrong city of Pontus, of which his ſucceſſors remained poſſeſſors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints againſt this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in intereſt with Eumenes, ſent alſo ambaſſadors thither. The Romans ſeveral times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was inſincere on theſe occaſions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was oppoſed by the confederate kings. Several enterprizes enſued; and after ſome years had been ſpent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

(z) Never were more embaſſies ſent than at the time we are now ſpeaking of. Ambaſſadors were ſeen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. (a) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his ſon, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the preſents he had already beſtowed on their republick, and the new offers he had made them. However, theſe ambaſſadors did not leave Achæa, becauſe when they were preparing to ſet out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

(b) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, reſolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers aſked, by what methods he would raiſe money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treaſure. The principal courtiers concluded from this anſwer, that, as he conſidered their purſes as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that conſequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their ſovereign, they cauſed him to be poiſoned. This monarch was thus diſpatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had ſat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his ſon, who was but ſix years of age, ſucceeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

(y) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59. (z) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (a) Polyb. in Leg. in Leg. c. lvii. (b) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

CHAP. II.

THIS ſecond chapter includes the ſpace of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained:

The firſt twenty years of Ptolemy Philometor's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty four years.

The five laſt years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was ſucceeded by Perſeus who reigned eleven.

The eight or nine laſt years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes his ſucceſſor, who exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt the Jews.

I ſhall reſerve the eleven years of Perſeus's reign over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the hiſtory related in this chapter.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome againſt* PHILIP. DEMETRIUS, *his ſon, who was in that city, is ſent to his father, accompanied by ſome ambaſſadors. A ſecret conſpiracy of* PERSEUS *againſt his brother* DEMETRIUS *with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne. He accuſes him before* PHILIP. *Speeches of both thoſe princes.* PHILIP, *upon a new impeachment, cauſes* DEMETRIUS *to be put to death; but afterwards diſcovers his innocence and* PERSEUS's *guilt. Whilſt* PHILIP *is meditating to puniſh the latter, he dies, and* PERSEUS *ſucceeds him.*

(c) FROM the ſpreading of a report among the ſtates contiguous to Macedonia, that ſuch as went to Rome to complain againſt Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private perſons, made their complaints in that city againſt a prince who was a very troubleſome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redreſſed which they pretended to have received; or, at leaſt, to conſole themſelves in ſome meaſure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the reſt, to whom, by order of the Roman commiſſioners and ſenate, the fortreſſes in Thrace were to be given up, ſent ambaſſadors, at whoſe head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the ſenate,

(c) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

ſenate, that Philip did not evacuate the garriſons in Thrace as he had promiſed; and to complain of his ſending ſuccours into Bithynia to Pruſias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been ſent by his father, in order to ſuperintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his buſineſs to anſwer the ſeveral accuſations brought againſt his father: but the ſenate, imagining that this would be a very difficult taſk for ſo young a prince, who was not accuſtomed to ſpeak in publick; to ſpare him that trouble, they ſent certain perſons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him ſome memorials, and contented themſelves with his reading them. Philip therein juſtified himſelf to the beſt of his power, with reſpect to moſt of the articles which were exhibited againſt him; but he eſpecially ſhewed great diſguſt at the decrees which the Roman commiſſioners had enacted againſt him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The ſenate ſaw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and aſſured them, that every thing ſhould be done agreeable to the will of the Romans, the ſenate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wiſely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in ſending his ſon Demetrius to make his excuſes. That, as to paſt tranſactions, the ſenate might diſſemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promiſe which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hoſtage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noiſe, whatever might have been hitherto amiſs: and that as to the reſt, the ſenate was well pleaſed to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his ſon Demetrius for the tenderneſs with which the Romans behaved towards him. Theſe marks of diſtinction which the ſenate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy againſt him, and at length occaſioned his deſtruction.

(d) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambaſſadors, produced different effects, according to

(d) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

the various diſpoſitions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the conſequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleaſed with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the throne of Macedon, after the demiſe of his father. For though he was the younger ſon, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perſeus was the ſon of a concubine, and even reputed ſuppoſititious. Beſides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perſeus not having any credit with them. And theſe were the common reports.

On one ſide alſo, Perſeus was greatly uneaſy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title againſt a brother ſuperior to him in all other reſpects: and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to diſpoſe of the throne as he pleaſed, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger ſon. It was alſo a great mortification to him, to ſee riſing, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of ſecond court in the concourſe of Macedonians who crouded about Demetrius. The young prince himſelf did not take ſufficient care to prevent or ſooth the growing diſaffection to his perſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to ſuppreſs envy, by gentleneſs, modeſty, and complacency, he only enflamed it, by a certain air of haughtineſs which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himſelf upon the marks of diſtinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and not ſcrupling to declare, that the ſenate had granted him many things they had refuſed his father.

Philip's diſcontent was much more inflamed, at the arrival of the new ambaſſadors, to whom his ſon made his court more aſſiduouſly than to himſelf; and when he found he ſhould be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garriſons from that country, and to execute other things, either purſuant to the decrees of the firſt commiſſioners, or to the freſh orders he had received from Rome: all theſe orders and decrees he complied with very much againſt his will, and with the higheſt ſecret reſentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not ſufficiently prepared. To remove all ſuſpicion of his harbouring the leaſt deſign that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, againſt people

with

with whom the Romans did not concern themſelves in any manner.

(e) However, his ſchemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commiſſioners, who had communicated the orders of the ſenate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's diſcourſes, and the ſeveral ſteps he took, viſibly threatened an approaching war. To make himſelf the more ſecure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; ſettled them in * the moſt northern part of Macedon, and ſubſtituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. Theſe changes occaſioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houſes, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all ſides but imprecations and curſes againſt the king, who was the author of theſe innovations.

(f) But Philip, ſo far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were ſuſpected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of perſons, upon ſuſpicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be ſafe, but in ſecuring their children, and he impriſoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all deſtroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itſelf than ſuch a deſign; but the ſad cataſtrophe of one of the moſt powerful and moſt illuſtrious families in Theſſaly, made it ſtill more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal perſons of the country, and ſome time after, his two ſons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a ſon, both very young. Theoxena, who was ſought for in marriage by the richeſt and moſt powerful noblemen in Theſſaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial ſtate; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him ſeveral children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that ſhe might have an opportunity of bringing up her ſiſter's children under her eye, married Poris; took the ſame care of them as ſhe did of her own ſon; and was as tender of them as if ſhe had been their mother. When news was brought her

(e) Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5. *(f)* A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182.

* *Æmathia, called formerly Pæonia.*

of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of thoſe who had been put to death; plainly foreſeeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, ſhe formed a ſurpriſing reſolution, declaring that ſhe would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than ſuffer them to fall into the mercileſs power of Philip. Poris, whoſe ſoul was ſtruck with horror at this deſign, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would ſend all their children to Athens, to ſome friends, on whoſe fidelity and humanity he could ſafely rely, and that he himſelf would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all ſet out from Theſſalonica, in order to ſail to the city of Ænia, to aſſiſt at a ſolemn feſtival, which was ſolemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having ſpent the whole day in feſtivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body elſe was aſleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Theſſalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, and drove them back towards the coaſt. At day-break, the king's officers, who were poſted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately ſent off an armed ſloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was ſeen every moment, either exhorting the ſhip's company in the ſtrongeſt terms, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, reſuming her former reſolution, and preſenting to her children the deadly doſe ſhe had prepared, and the daggers ſhe had brought with her: "Death," ſays ſhe, "only can free you from "your miſeries; and here is what will procure you that laſt, "ſad refuge. Secure yourſelves from the king's horrid "cruelty by the method you like beſt. Go (my dear chil-"dren) ſuch of you as are moſt advanced in years, and take "theſe poniards; or, in caſe a ſlower kind of death may be "more grateful, take this poiſon." The enemy were now almoſt in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either ſwallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their boſoms, were thrown into the ſea. Theoxena, after giving her huſband a laſt ſad embrace, leapt into the ſea with him. Philip's officers then ſeized the galley, but did not find one perſon alive in it.

The

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred againſt Philip. He was publickly deteſted as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both againſt him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, ſays Livy, ſoon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance againſt his own children.

(g) Perſeus ſaw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increaſed daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to aſcend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by ſounding the diſpoſition of thoſe who were in greateſt favour with the king, and by addreſſing them in obſcure and ambiguous words. At firſt, ſome ſeemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his propoſals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, obſerving that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increaſed ſenſibly; which Perſeus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, oppoſed to the utmoſt, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whoſe youth and inexperience made him not ſufficiently upon his guard againſt the artifices of his brother, would at laſt fall a victim to them; they thought it their intereſt to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the ſtrongeſt party. They accordingly did ſo, and devoted themſelves entirely to Perſeus.

Having poſtponed the execution of their more remote deſigns, they were of opinion that for the preſent it would be proper for them to employ their utmoſt efforts to exaſperate the king againſt the Romans, and to inſpire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the ſame time, to render Demetrius every day more ſuſpected, they induſtriouſly, on all occaſions, made the diſcourſe turn in the king's preſence upon the Romans; ſome expreſſing the utmoſt contempt for their laws and cuſtoms, others for their exploits; ſome for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others even for ſuch of the Romans as were in higheſt eſtimation; making them all paſs in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the ſcope and tendency of all theſe diſcourſes, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to

(g) Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

take fire on theſe occaſions. Hence Demetrius (without conſidering the conſequences) grew ſuſpected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accuſations and calumnies preparing againſt him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the deſigns he continually meditated againſt Rome, and unboſomed himſelf only to Perſeus.

The ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to the Baſtarnæ, to deſire aid from them, returned about the time we are now ſpeaking of. Theſe had brought with them ſeveral youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promiſed his ſiſter in marriage to one of Philip's ſons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perſeus taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what uſe," ſays he, "can all this be to us? We have "not ſo much to hope from foreign aids, as to dread from "domeſtick foes. We harbour in our boſoms, I will not "ſay a traitor, but at leaſt a ſpy. The Romans, ever ſince "he was an hoſtage among them, have reſtored us his body; "but as to his heart and inclinations, thoſe he has left with "them. Almoſt all the Macedonians fix already their eyes "on him; and are perſuaded, that they ſhall never have "any king, but him whom the Romans ſhall pleaſe to ſet "over them." By ſuch ſpeeches, the old king's diſguſt was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a feſtival ſolemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, ſays Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, long ways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each ſide of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the ſhining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the moſt remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterwards, followed by all the royal houſhold, and the companies of guards. The march is cloſed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the preſent occaſion, the two princes walked on each ſide of the king; Perſeus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the

* *We find, in ſcripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties paſs through the parts of the victim divided.* Jer. xxxiv. 18.

the flower of his age: ſons who might have formed their father's happineſs, had his mind been rightly diſpoſed and reaſonable.

The cuſtom was, after the ſacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and repreſented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themſelves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been diſputing for the throne: ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, and nothing but ſwords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the ſuperiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perſeus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accuſation againſt his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the ſoldiers of their reſpective parties. Perſeus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refuſed to come. The joy was very great on both ſides, and the gueſts drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much diſcourſe paſſed about the battle; and the gueſts intermixed their ſpeeches with jeſts and ſatirical flings (ſome of which were very ſharp) againſt thoſe of the contrary party; without ſparing even the leaders. Perſeus had ſent a ſpy to obſerve all that ſhould be ſaid at his brother's banquet: but four young perſons, who came by accident out of the hall, having diſcovered this ſpy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, ſaid to the company: "Let us go "and conclude our feaſt at my brother's, to ſoften his pain "(if he has any remaining) by an agreeable ſurprize, which "will ſhew that we act with frankneſs and ſincerity; and do "not harbour any malice againſt him." Immediately all cried that they would go, thoſe excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the ſpy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither alſo, they concealed ſwords under their robes, in order to defend themſelves in caſe there ſhould be occaſion. When diſcord reigns in families, it is impoſſible for any thing to be kept ſecret in them. A man running haſtily before, went to Perſeus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might eaſily have gueſſed the cauſe of it, as he knew that they were the perſons who had abuſed his ſpy; nevertheleſs,

to make this action ſtill more criminal, Perſeus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment that looked into the ſtreet, cried aloud to his ſervants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with deſign to aſſaſſinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refuſed admittance, returned back, and again ſat down to table; ſtill ignorant of the affair relating to Perſeus's ſpy.

The next day, as ſoon as Perſeus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued ſome time in his preſence, but at a little diſtance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly ſurprized at his ſilence, aſked what could be the cauſe of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It "is the greateſt happineſs for me," anſwers Perſeus, "and "by the mereſt good fortune in the world, that you ſee me "here alive. My brother now no longer lays ſecret ſnares "for me; he came in the night to my houſe, at the head of "a body of armed men, purpoſely to aſſaſſinate me. I had "no other way left to ſecure myſelf from his fury, but by "ſhutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and "me." Perſeus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and dread: "if you "will condeſcend," ſays he, "to liſten a moment to me, "you ſhall be fully acquainted with the whole ſtate of the "affair." Philip anſwered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be ſent for. At the ſame time, he ſent for Lyſimachus and Onomaſtes, to aſk their advice on this occaſion. Theſe two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themſelves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very ſeldom at court. Philip, whilſt he waited for their coming, walked ſeveral times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his ſon Perſeus ſtanding all the time at a diſtance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his ſons to bring three perſons, unarmed, along with him: and having taken his ſeat, he ſpoke to them as follows.

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to ſit as judge "between my two ſons, one the accuſer, and the other "charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the "ſad neceſſity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal

or

" or a falſe accuſer. From certain rumours, which long
" ſince reached my ears, and an unuſual behaviour I obſerve
" between you (a behaviour no way ſuiting brothers) I in-
" deed was afraid this ſtorm would break over my head.
" And yet I hoped, from time to time, that your diſcontents
" and diſguſts would ſoften, and your ſuſpicions vaniſh
" away. I recollected, that contending kings and princes,
" laying down their arms, had frequently contracted alli-
" ances and friendſhips; and that private men had ſuppreſſed
" their animoſities. I flattered myſelf, that you would one
" day remember the endearing name of brethren by which
" you are united; thoſe tender years of infancy which you
" ſpent in ſimplicity and union; in fine, the counſels ſo often
" repeated by a father; counſels, which, alas! I am afraid
" have been given to children deaf and indocile to my voice.
" How many times, after ſetting before you examples of
" the diſcord between brothers, have I repreſented its fatal
" conſequences, by ſhewing you, that they had thereby in-
" volved themſelves in inevitable ruin; and not only them-
" ſelves, but their children, families, and kingdoms? On
" the other ſide, I propoſed good examples for your imitation:
" The ſtrict union between the two kings of Lacedæmonia,
" ſo advantageous during ſeveral centuries, to themſelves
" and their country; in oppoſition to diviſion and private
" intereſt that changed the monarchick government into
" tyranny, and proved the deſtruction of Sparta. By what
" other method, than by fraternal concord, did the two
" brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from ſuch weak begin-
" nings as almoſt reflected diſhonour on the regal dignity,
" riſe to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of Antiochus,
" and of all the kings we know of? I even did not ſcruple
" to cite examples from the Romans, of which I myſelf had
" either been an eye-witneſs, or heard from others: as the
" two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were
" engaged in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and
" Lucius, who defeated and ſubjected Antiochus; their
" father and their uncle, who having been inſeparable during
" their lives, were undivided in death. Neither the crimes
" of the one, though attended with ſuch fatal conſequences;
" nor the virtues of the other, though crowned with ſuch
" happy ſucceſs, have been able to make you abhor diviſion
" and diſcord, and to inſpire you with gentle and pacifick
" ſentiments. Both of you, in my life time, have turned
" your eyes and guilty deſires upon my throne. You will
" not ſuffer me to live, till ſurviving one of you, I ſecure

" my

" my crown to the other by my death. The fond names of " father and brother are inſupportable to both. Your ſouls " are ſtrangers to tenderneſs and love. A reſtleſs deſire of " reigning has baniſhed all other ſentiments from your breaſts, " and entirely engroſſes you. But come, let me hear what " each of you have to ſay. Pollute the ears of your parent " with real or feigned accuſations. Open your criminal " mouths; vent all your reciprocal ſlanders, and afterwards " arm your parricide hands one againſt the other. I am ready to hear all you have to ſay; firmly determined to ſhut " my ears eternally from henceforth againſt the ſecret whiſpers and accuſations of brother againſt brother." Philip having ſpoke theſe laſt words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were preſent wept, and continued a long time in a mournful ſilence.

At laſt, Perſeus ſpoke as follows. " I perceive plainly, " that I ought to have opened my door in the dead of night; " to have admitted the aſſaſſins into my houſe, and preſented " my throat to their murtherous ſwords, ſince guilt is never " believed, till it has been perpetrated; and ſince I, who " was ſo inhumanly attacked, receive the ſame injurious " reproaches as the aggreſſor. People have but too much " reaſon to ſay, that you conſider Demetrius only as your " true ſon; whilſt unhappy I am looked upon as a ſtranger, " ſprung from a concubine, or even an impoſtor. For, did " your breaſt glow with the tenderneſs which a father ought " to have for his child, you would not think it juſt to inveigh " ſo bitterly againſt me, (for whoſe life ſo many ſnares have " been laid) but againſt him who contrived them; and you " would not think my life ſo inconſiderable, as to be entirely " unmoved at the imminent danger I eſcaped; nor to that to " which I ſhall be expoſed, ſhould the guilt of my enemies " be ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. If I muſt die without being " ſuffered to breathe my complaints, be it ſo; let me leave " the world in ſilence, and be contented with beſeeching the " gods in my expiring moments, that the crime which was " begun in my perſon, may end in it, and not extend to " your ſacred life. But if (what nature inſpires in thoſe, " who ſeeing themſelves attacked unawares in ſolitude, implore the aſſiſtance even of ſtrangers to them) I may be " allowed to do with regard to you on the preſent occaſion: " If, when I ſee ſwords drawn round me, in order to pierce " my heart, I may be permitted to vent forth a plaintive " and ſupplicating voice; I conjure you by the tender, the " dear name of father, (for which, whether my brother or I

" have

" have had the greateſt reverence, you yourſelf have long
" known) to liſten to me at this time, as if awaked ſuddenly
" from your ſleep by the tumult of what paſſed laſt night,
" chance had brought you at the inſtant of my danger, and in
" the midſt of my complaints; and that you had found Deme-
" trius at my door, attended by perſons in arms. What I
" ſhould have told you yeſterday, in the greateſt emotion,
" and ſeized with fear, I ſay to you now.

" Brother, it is long ſince we have not behaved towards
" one another, like perſons deſirous of ſharing in parties of
" pleaſure. You are fired with an inſatiable thirſt of reign-
" ing, but you find an invincible obſtacle in my age, the
" law of nations, the ancient cuſtoms of Macedonia; and, a
" ſtill ſtronger circumſtance, my father's will and pleaſure.
" It will be impoſſible for you ever to force theſe barriers,
" and to aſcend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in
" my blood. To compaſs your horrid ends, you employ in-
" ſtruments of all kinds, and ſet every engine at work.
" Hitherto, my vigilance, or my good fortune, have pre-
" ſerved me from your bloody hands. Yeſterday, at the re-
" view, and the ceremony of the tournament which followed
" it, the battle, by your contrivance, became almoſt bloody
" and fatal; and, had I not ſuffered myſelf and my followers
" to be defeated, you would have ſent me to the grave. From
" this fight, indeed of enemies, you inſidiouſly wanted (as if
" what had paſſed had been only the diverſion of brothers) to
" allure me to your feaſt. Can you ſuppoſe (royal father)
" that I ſhould have met with unarmed gueſts there, as thoſe
" very gueſts came to my palace, completely armed at ſo
" late an hour? Can you imagine that, favoured by the
" gloom, they would not have ſtrove to plunge their daggers
" in my heart; as the ſame perſons in open day, and before
" your eyes, almoſt killed me with their wooden weapons?
" How! You, who are my profeſſed enemy; you, who are
" conſcious that I have ſo much reaſon to complain of your
" conduct; you (I ſay) come to me in the night, at an un-
" ſeaſonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed
" young men? I did not think it ſafe for me to go to your
" entertainment; and ſhould I receive you in my houſe at a
" time, when heated with the fumes of wine, your came ſo
" well attended? Had I then opened my door (royal ſir)
" you would be preparing to ſolemnize my funeral, at this
" very inſtant in which you vouchſafe to hear my complaints.
" I do not advance any thing dubious, nor ſpeak barely
" from conjecture. For can Demetrius deny but that he

" came

" came to my houſe, attended by a band of young people, " and that ſome of them were armed; I only deſire to have " thoſe whom I ſhall name ſent for. I believe them capable " of any thing; but yet they cannot have the aſſurance to " deny the fact. Had I brought them before you, after " ſeizing them armed in my houſe, you would be fully con- " vinced of their guilt: and ſurely their own confeſſion ought " to be a no leſs proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curſes upon impious " ſons who aſpire to your throne: this (auguſt ſir) you have " great reaſon to do: but then I beſeech you not to vent your " imprecations blindly, and at random. Diſtinguiſh be- " tween the innocent and the guilty. Let him who medita- " ted the barbarous deſign of murdering his brother, feel the " dire effects of the anger of the gods, the avengers of pater- " nal authority: but then let him, who, by his brother's " guilt, was brought to the brink of deſtruction, find a ſe- " cure aſylum in his father's tenderneſs and juſtice. For " where elſe can I expect to find one: I, to whom neither the " ceremony of the review, the ſolemnity of the tournament, " my own houſe, the feſtival, nor the hours of night allotted " by the gods to the repoſe of man, could afford the leaſt ſe- " curity? If I go to the entertainment to which my brother " invites me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal " to me, if I admit him into my houſe, when he comes thi- " ther at midnight. Snares are laid for me wherever I " tread. Death lies in ambuſh for me wherever I move; to " what place then can I fly for ſecurity?

" I have devoted myſelf only to the gods, and to you, my " royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and " cannot have recourſe to them. There is nothing they more " earneſtly wiſh than my ruin, becauſe I am ſo much affected " with their injuſtice to you; becauſe I am tortured to the " ſoul, and fired with indignation, to ſee you diſpoſſeſſed of " ſo many cities and dominions; and, lately, of the mari- " time coaſts of Thrace. They cannot flatter themſelves " with the hopes of ever making themſelves maſters of Mace- " donia, as long as you or I am in being. They are ſenſible, " that, ſhould I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you " to the grave; or they not wait the due courſe of nature; " that then the king and kingdom will be at their " diſpoſal.

" Had the Romans left you the poſſeſſion of ſome city or " territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I poſſibly " might have had ſome opportunity of retiring to it. But,

" will

" will it be anſwered, ſhall I find a ſufficiently powerful pro-
" tection in the Macedonians? You yourſelf, royal father,
" ſaw, with what animoſity and virulence the ſoldiers at-
" tacked me in the battle. What was wanting, for my
" deſtruction, but ſwords of ſteel? However, the arms they
" wanted, my brother's gueſts aſſumed in the night. What
" ſhall I ſay of a great part of the principal perſons of your
" court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on
" him who is all-powerful with them? They are not aſhamed
" to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother;
" but, I might almoſt ſay it, to you, who are our king and
" father. For they pretend it is to him you are obliged for
" the ſenate's remitting you ſome of thoſe things which they
" otherwiſe would have required: it is he who now checks
" the Romans, and prevents their advancing, in a hoſtile
" manner, into your kingdom: in fine, if they may be be-
" lieved, your old age has no other refuge, but the protection
" which your young ſon procures you. On his ſide are the
" Romans, and all the cities which have been diſmembered
" from your dominions, as well as all ſuch Macedonians,
" whoſe dependence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in
" the Romans. But with reſpect to myſelf, I look upon it as
" glorious to have no other protector but my royal father,
" and to place all my hopes in him alone.

" What do you judge to be the aim and deſign of the let-
" ter you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares
" expreſsly, that you acted prudently for your intereſt, in
" ſending Demetrius to Rome; and, wherein he exhorts you
" to ſend him back thither, accompanied by other ambaſſa-
" dors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quin-
" tius is now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other
" guide but his counſels, or rather his orders. Quite forget-
" ting that you are his father, he ſeems to have ſubſtituted
" him in your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his
" ſight he formed the ſecret and clandeſtine deſigns which
" will ſoon break out into action. It is merely to have the
" better opportunity of putting them in execution, that
" Quintius orders you to ſend along with Demetrius a greater
" number of the Macedonian nobility. They ſet out from
" this country, with the moſt ſincere attachment to your
" perſon and intereſt: but, won by the gracious treatment
" they meet with in that city, they return from it entirely
" corrupted and debauched by different ſentiments. Deme-
" trius is all in all with them: they even preſume, in your
" life-time, to give him the title of king. If I appear ſhock-
" ed

" ed at this conduct, I have the grief to ſee, not only others,
" but yourſelf (my royal father) charge me with the horrid
" deſign of aſpiring to your throne. Should this accuſation
" be levelled at us both, I am conſcious of my own inno-
" cence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. For, who,
" in that caſe, ſhould I diſpoſſeſs, to ſeize upon what would
" be another's right? There is no one but my father between
" me and the throne, and I beſeech the gods that he may
" long continue ſo. In caſe I ſhould happen to ſurvive him
" (and this I would not wiſh, but ſo long as he ſhould deſire
" it) I ſhall ſucceed him in the kingdom, if it be his good
" pleaſure. HE may be accuſed of aſpiring to the throne,
" and of aſpiring in the moſt unjuſt and criminal manner,
" who is impatient to break the order and bounds preſcribed
" by age, by nature, by the uſages and cuſtoms of Mace-
" donia, and by the law of nations. My elder brother
" (ſays Demetrius to himſelf) to whom the kingdom belongs
" both by the right of ſeniority, and my father's will, is an
" obſtacle to my ambitious views.——What then muſt be
" done?——I muſt diſpatch him.——I ſhall not be the firſt
" who has waded through a brother's blood to the throne.
" My father, in years, and without ſupport, will be too
" much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for
" his ſon's death. The Romans will be greatly pleaſed to
" ſee me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and
" be able to ſupport me.——I own (moſt gracious father)
" theſe projects may all be defeated, but I am ſure they are
" not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this:
" It is in your power to ſecure my life, by bringing to con-
" dign puniſhment, thoſe who yeſterday armed to aſſaſſinate
" me: but, ſhould their guilt take effect, it will not be in
" your power to revenge my death."

As ſoon as Perſeus had ended his ſpeech, all the company caſt their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to anſwer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppreſſed with ſorrow, ſhedding floods of tears, and ſeeming unable to ſpeak, a long ſilence enſued. At laſt being preſſed to anſwer, he made his grief give way to neceſſity, and ſpoke as follows.

" Perſeus (royal ſir) by accuſing me in your preſence, and
" by ſhedding fictitious tears to move you to compaſſion, has
" made you ſuſpect mine, which, alas! are but too ſincere;
" and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the
" accuſed generally have. Ever ſince my return from Rome,
" he has been day and night laying ſnares for me, in ſecret

" cabals

" cabals with his creatures; and yet he repreſents me to you
" not only as laying hidden ambuſcades to deſtroy him, but
" attacking him by open force, and perſons in arms. He
" endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which
" ſurround him, in hopes that you will put to death his in-
" nocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no
" aſylum left, with deſign to prevent my finding one in your
" clemency and juſtice. In the ſolitary and abandoned ſtate to
" which I ſee myſelf reduced, quite friendleſs and unprotected,
" he ſtrives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a
" foreign credit and ſupport, which are rather a prejudice
" than a ſervice to me.

" Obſerve, I beſeech you, with what inſidious art he has
" blended and confounded the tranſactions of laſt night with
" every other circumſtance of my life; and this in a double
" view, firſt to raiſe a ſuſpicion in you of my conduct in
" general from this laſt action, the innocence of which will
" ſoon be evident; and ſecondly, to ſupport, by this idle
" ſtory of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accuſation, of
" my harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretenſions.
" At the ſame time he has endeavoured to ſhew, that this
" accuſation was not premeditated or prepared; but that it
" was wholly the effect of the fear with which he was ſeized,
" occaſioned by laſt night's tumult. But, Perſeus, if I had
" attempted to betray my father and his kingdom; had I
" engaged in conſpiracies with the Romans, and with the
" enemies of the ſtate, you ought not to have waited for the
" opportunity of the fictitious ſtory of laſt night's tranſaction,
" but ſhould have impeached me before this time of ſuch trea-
" ſon. If the charge of treaſon, when ſeparated from the other,
" was altogether improbable, and could ſerve to no other
" purpoſe but to prove how much you envy me, and not to
" evidence my guilt, you ought not to have mentioned it now,
" but ſhould have poſtponed that charge to another time; and
" have examined now this queſtion only, whether you laid ſnares
" for me, or I for you. I nevertheleſs will endeavour, as far as
" the confuſion into which this ſudden and unforeſeen accuſa-
" tion has thrown me will permit, to ſeparate and diſtin-
" guiſh what you have thrown together indiſcriminately;
" and to ſhew whether you or myſelf ought in juſtice to be
" accuſed of dealing treacherouſly laſt night.

" Perſeus aſſerts, that I harboured a deſign to aſſaſſinate
" him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to
" whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by
" the cuſtoms of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by

" your

" your determination; I, though the younger ſon, might " ſucceed to the throne. To what purpoſe therefore is that " other part of his ſpeech, where he declares, that I have " been particularly ſtudious to ingratiate myſelf with the " Romans, and flattered myſelf with the hopes of being " able to aſcend the throne by their aſſiſtance? For, if I " thought the Romans were powerful enough to beſtow the " kingdom of Macedon on whomſoever they pleaſed; and " if I relied ſo much on my credit and authority with them, " why ſhould I commit a fratricide of no advantage to my- " ſelf? What! ſhould I have affected to ſurround my temples " with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely " that I might become odious and execrable, even to thoſe " with whom I had acquired ſome authority (admitting I " have ſome credit with them) by a probity either real or " diſſembled? Unleſs you can ſuppoſe that Quintius, whoſe " counſel I am accuſed of following (he, I ſay, who lives in " ſo delightful a union with his brother), ſuggeſted to me the " horrid deſign of embruing my hands in my brother's blood. " Perſeus has ſummed up all the advantages, by which (as he " would inſinuate) I can promiſe myſelf a ſuperiority over him, " ſuch as the credit of the Romans, the ſuffrages of the Ma- " cedonians, and the almoſt univerſal conſent of gods and " men; and yet he, at the ſame time, (as if I was inferior " to him in all reſpects) charges me with having recourſe to " an expedient which none but the blackeſt villains could " employ. Will you, gracious ſir, have us judged upon this " principle and rule, that whichſoever of us two was appre- " henſive that the other would be judged more worthy of the " diadem, ſhall be declared to have formed the deſign of " murdering his brother?

" But let us come to facts, and examine the order and " plan of the criminal enterprize with which I am charged. " Perſeus pretends to have been attacked in different manners, " all which are however included within the ſpace of one day. " I attempted (as he ſays) to murder him in broad day-light, " in the battle which followed the ſacred ceremony of " the review. I had determined to poiſon him at an " entertainment to which I had invited him; in fine, I " reſolved to attack him with open force, in the dead of " night, attended by armed perſons to a party of pleaſure at " his houſe.

" You ſee, ſir, the ſeaſon I had choſen to commit this " fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of plea- " ſure. How venerable and ſolemn was this day! A day

" on

" on which the army is reviewed, on which the reſplendent " arms of all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in the " front of the proceſſion; on which it paſſes through the " two parts of the ſacred victim; and on which we have the " honour to march with you, at the head of the whole Mace- " donian people. What! though purified, by this auguſt " ſacrifice, from all faults I might before have committed; " having before my eyes the ſacred victim through which we " paſſed, was my mind intent upon fratricides, poiſons, and " daggers! Defiled in ſuch a manner by crimes of the moſt " horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would " it have been poſſible for me to purify myſelf?

" It is evident that my brother, hurrried on by a blind " paſſion to calumniate and deſtroy me, in his endeavour to " make every thing ſuſpected, and a crime in me, betrays " and contradicts himſelf. For (brother) had I form- " ed the abominable deſign of poiſoning you at my table, " what could be more ill judged than to exaſperate you, and " to put you upon your guard by an obſtinate battle, in " which I ſhould have diſcovered that I had deſigns of vio- " lence againſt you; and, by that means, have prevented " your coming to an entertainment to which I had invited " you, and at which you accordingly refuſed to be preſent? " But ſurely, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould I not have endea- " voured to reconcile myſelf to you; and, as I had reſolved " to take you off by poiſon, ought I not to have ſought an- " other opportunity for giving you the fatal draught? Was it " natural for me to change ſuddenly (in one day) my bar- " barous deſign, and to attempt to aſſaſſinate you, upon pre- " tence of going to your houſe on a party of pleaſure? Could " I reaſonably flatter myſelf with the hopes (taking it for " granted that the fear of your being murdered had made " you refuſe to come to my entertainment) that the ſame " fear would not induce you to refuſe me admittance into " your houſe?

" I preſume, ſir, I may confeſs to you without bluſhing, " that in a day of feſtivity and rejoicing, happening to be in " company with ſome people of the ſame age with myſelf, I " drank more plentifully than uſual. Enquire, I beſeech " you, how we ſpent our time at the feaſt, how full of mirth " we were, how tranſported with thoughtleſs gaiety, very " much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiſcreet joy, for " the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is the ſad " condition of an unforeſeen accuſation; it is the danger in " which I now ſee myſelf involved, that have diſpelled

" but

" but too eaſily the fumes of wine; otherwiſe, a calm " aſſaſſin, my eyes had ſtill been cloſed in ſlumbers. Had I " formed a reſolution to attack your houſe with the view of " murdering you, would it not have been poſſible for me to " abſtain, for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to " keep my companions from the like exceſs?

" But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act with " frankneſs and ſimplicity, let us hear my brother, whoſe " conduct is ſincere and undiſguiſed, and who does not har- " bour the leaſt ſuſpicion. All, ſays he, that I know, and " the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came " armed to my houſe, upon pretence of engaging in a party " of pleaſure. Should I aſk you how you came to know this, " you will be forced to own, either that my houſe was filled " with ſpies ſent by you, or elſe that my attendants had " taken up arms in ſo open a manner, that every one knew " of it. What does my brother do? That he may not ſeem " to have formerly watched all my motions; nor, at this " time, to ground his accuſation merely on ſuppoſitions, he " beſeeches you to enquire of thoſe whom he ſhall name, " whether people did not come armed to his houſe; in order " that, (as if this were a doubtful circumſtance) after this " enquiry into an incident which they themſelves own and " confeſs, they may be conſidered as legally convicted. But " is this the queſtion? Why do not you deſire an enquiry to " be made whether they took up arms to aſſaſſinate you, and " if they did it with my knowledge, and at my requeſt? For " it is this you pretend; and not what they themſelves own " publickly, and which is very manifeſt, that they took up " arms in no other view but to defend themſelves. Whether " they had or had not reaſon to arm themſelves, that they are " to inform you. Do not blend and confound my cauſe " with theirs, for they are quite diſtinct and ſeparate. Only " tell us, whether we really intended to attack you openly or " by ſurprize. If openly, why did we not all take up arms? " Why were thoſe only armed who had inſulted your ſpy? " In caſe it was to have been by ſurprize, in what manner " would the attack have been made? Would it have been at " the end of the feaſt in your houſe, and after I had left it " with my company, would the four men in queſtion have " ſtaid behind, to have fallen upon you when aſleep? How " would it have been poſſible for them, as they were ſtran- " gers in my ſervice, to conceal themſelves in your houſe; " and as they could not but be very much ſuſpected, having " been ſeen but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel?

" Again,

" Again, ſuppoſing they had found an opportunity to murder " you, in what manner could they have eſcaped? Could four " men armed, have been able to make themſelves maſters of " your houſe?

" But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what " really pains you, and which you have ſo much at heart: " For what reaſon (methinks I hear my brother ſay) where- " fore (O Demetrius) do the people talk of making you " king? Why do ſome perſons think you more worthy than " I of ſucceeding our father? Why do you make my hopes " doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would " have been eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſolid foundation?—— " Such are the reflections which Perſeus revolves in his " mind, though he does not expreſs himſelf in this manner: " it is this raiſes his enmity againſt me, and prompts him to " charge me with ſuch horrid attempts: it is this fills the " palace, and every part of the kingdom, with ſuſpicions and " accuſations. If it does not become me, ſir, ſo much as to " hope the ſcepter, nor perhaps ever to think of conteſting " it, becauſe it is your will and pleaſure that I ſhould yield " to my elder brother; it does not follow that I ought to make " myſelf appear unworthy of it, either to * you (my royal " father) or to all the Macedonians; a circumſtance which " nothing but my ill conduct could occaſion. I can, indeed " through moderation, reſign it to whom it belongs; but I " cannot prevail with myſelf to renounce my virtue and " good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and " impute that to me for a crime, which ought to be my glory. " I did not deſire to be ſent to Rome, neither as an hoſtage at " firſt, nor afterwards as ambaſſador: this, ſir, you yourſelf " very well know, when you ordered me to go thither, I " obeyed your commands; and I believe my conduct and " behaviour were ſuch, as cannot reflect the leaſt diſhonour " either on yourſelf, your crown, or the Macedonian na- " tion. It is therefore yourſelf, ſir, that occaſioned the " friendſhip I have contracted with the Romans. So long as " you ſhall be at peace with them, ſo long our friendſhip " will ſubſiſt: but the moment the trumpet ſounds for war, " though I have been an hoſtage among them, and exerciſed " the functions of an ambaſſador in ſuch a manner, as, per- " haps, has not been diſadvantageous to my father; from " that moment, I ſay, I ſhall declare myſelf their enemy. I " do

* *Inſtead of* indignus te patre, *Gronovius reads,* indignus tibi pater; *which ſeems to agree better with the context.*

" do not deſire to reap any benefit on the preſent occaſion, " from the love which the Romans have for me; all I in- " treat is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not " begun in war, nor was it deſigned to ſubſiſt in it. As " an hoſtage and an ambaſſador, peace was my only " object; let that be neither conſidered in me as a crime or " a merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the reſpect I owe " you, ſir; if I have formed any criminal enterprize againſt " my brother, let me be puniſhed as I deſerve: but if I am " innocent, this I claim; that as I cannot be convicted of " the leaſt guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is " not the firſt time that my brother has charged me with " harbouring horrid deſigns; but it is the firſt time he has at- " tempted to do it openly, though without the leaſt founda- " tion. Was my father exaſperated againſt me, it would be " your duty, as the elder, kindly to intercede for your " younger brother; to ſollicit his pardon, to intreat that " ſome regard might be ſhewn to his youth; and that a fault, " which had been committed merely through inadvertency, " might be overlooked. My ruin comes from that very " quarter, whence I might naturally have expected my " ſafety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feaſt and party of " pleaſure, I am dragged hither on a ſudden, to anſwer a " charge of fratricide; and am forced to plead my own " cauſe, unaſſiſted by counſellors, and unſupported by the " advice or credit of a ſingle perſon. Had I been to ſpeak " in favour of another, I ſhould have taken time to prepare " and compoſe my diſcourſe; and yet, on ſuch an occaſion, " my reputation only would have lain at ſtake, and I ſhould " have had nothing to do but to diſplay my wit and elo- " quence. —— At this inſtant, without knowing the cauſe " for which I am ordered to appear in this place, I hear an " offended father, commanding me to make my defence; " and a brother, charging me with the moſt horrid crimes. " Perſeus has had all the time he could deſire to prepare his " accuſation, whilſt unhappy I did not ſo much as know " what the buſineſs was, till the very inſtant the accuſation " was brought againſt me. In this rapid moment, ought I " to be more attentive to my accuſer, than ſtudious of my " own apology? Surprized by a ſudden and unforeſeen accu- " ſation, I could ſcarce comprehend what was laid to my " charge, ſo far from being able to know how to make a de- " fence. What hopes, what refuge could I have left, did I

" not

"not know that it is my royal father who is to judge? He "may ſhew a greater affection for my brother, as the elder; "but he owes more compaſſion to me, as being the party "accuſed: I myſelf conjure you to preſerve my life for your "own ſake and mine; whereas Perſeus inſiſts upon your ſa- "crificing me to his ſafety. What may you not naturally "expect from him, when you ſhall once have inveſted him "with your authority, as he now demands your favour in "preference to me, at no leſs a price than my blood?"

Whilſt Demetrius defended himſelf in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep ſighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, diſmiſſing both of them for a moment, adviſed with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce ſen- "tence on this affair, from mere words and a few tranſient "ſpeeches, but from the enquiry I ſhall make into your "conduct; from your behaviour in ſmall as well as great "things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgement ſhewed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himſelf with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however ſuſpected him from his union with the Romans. Theſe were in a manner the firſt ſparks of the war, that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perſeus his ſucceſſor.

(b) The king, ſome time after, ſent Philocles and Apelles as his ambaſſadors to Rome, not ſo much with the deſign of employing them in any negotiation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city ſtood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to enquire ſecretly into what he had ſaid there (particularly to Quintius) with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne. Philip imagined that theſe two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perſeus's adherents, and had engaged in his conſpiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was tranſacting (his brother's accuſation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; eſpecially when he found that his brother had ſo ordered matters, that he could not have the leaſt acceſs to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to ſhun all occaſions of ſuſpicion and envy. He avoided ſpeaking of the Romans, or holding the leaſt correſpondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incenſed the Macedonians againſt him. He ought to have taken theſe precautions ſooner;

(b) A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. xlix. n. 20—24.

but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and ſincere in all things, and judged of others from himſelf, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whoſe intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus the Black ſea and the Adriatick, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be diſcovered, was curious to have an ocular demonſtration of it; imagining that this proſpect might be of ſome ſervice to the deſign he meditated, of making Italy the ſeat of war. He only took Perſeus with him, and ſent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to eſcort him. This governor was a creature of Perſeus, who had taught him his leſſon perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to inſinuate himſelf as artfully as poſſible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to diſcover all his ſecrets.

Didas executed his commiſſion but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius ſaid, lamented his ill fate, ſeemed to deteſt the injuſtice and inſincerity of his enemies, who repreſented him, on all occaſions, in the moſt odious light to his father, and offered to ſerve him to the utmoſt, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at laſt reſolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was neceſſary to paſs through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I obſerved above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his deſign to him. Didas, without loſs of time, ſent advice of this to Perſeus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpreſſible fatigues in his journey upon mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expoſe ſo ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the publick; rather than becauſe they had ſeen, from one and the ſame ſpot, river, ſeas, and mountains, at ſo vaſt a diſtance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the ſiege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's boſom-friend, was ſeized, and ſtrict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was ſeized with a deep melancholy. This laſt attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him

him to wait till the return of the ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to Rome, and who had been taught their leſſon before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and preſented the king with a forged letter, ſealed with a counterfeit ſeal of T. Quintius, in which he deſired Philip, "not to be offended at his ſon Demetrius, "for ſome unguarded expreſſions which might have eſcaped "him, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion to the crown; aſſuring "him, that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to "the ties of blood and nature." He concluded with obſerving, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him ſuch "counſel." This letter confirmed all that Perſeus had advanced againſt his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his maſter with any thing.

Perſeus again accuſed his brother before the king. His having projected the deſign of flying to the Romans through Pæonia; and of bringing certain perſons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumſtance which bore hardeſt againſt him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheleſs did not declare himſelf publickly againſt him, reſolving to make away with him ſecretly; not out of regard to his ſon, but leſt the noiſe, which the bringing him to execution would make, ſhould diſcover too viſibly the deſigns he projected againſt Rome. At his leaving Theſſalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to diſpatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poiſoned him at an entertainment that was made after a ſacrifice. Demetrius had no ſooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himſelf ſeized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increaſing, two of Didas's domeſticks entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and ſtifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deſerved a much better fate.

(i) Almoſt two years were elapſed, before the conſpiracy of Perſeus againſt his brother was diſcovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorſe, inceſſantly deplored his ſon's murder, and reproached himſelf with his cruelty. His ſurviving ſon, who looked upon himſelf already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themſelves, from the expectation that he would ſoon be their ſovereign, gave

(i) A. M. 3829. Ant J. C. 179. Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57.

him no leſs pain. It was infinitely ſhocking to him, to ſee his old age deſpiſed; ſome waiting with the utmoſt impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among thoſe who had acceſs to him, Antigonus held the firſt rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the perſon of his prince, in the midſt of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perſeus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his profeſſed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be expoſed, when that prince ſhould ſucceed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, ſigh and weep for his ſon Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that diſpoſition; when ſometimes liſtening to his diſcourſe on that ſubject, at other times beginning it himſelf, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his ſentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves ſome footſteps, by which it may be diſcerned, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to trace out the ſecret intrigues of Perſeus's conſpiracy.

The perſons who had the greateſt concern in that black affair, and of whom the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved ſo fatal to the young prince. It was generally whiſpered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but ſtill this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of ſecretary of the embaſſy, happened upon ſome occaſion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arreſt, cauſed him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a ſtrong guard, went to Philip. "I ima-
"gined (ſays he) royal ſir, from ſeveral things I have heard
"you ſay, that nothing could give you greater pleaſure, than
"to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your
"two ſons; and to diſcover which of them it was that made
"an attempt on the other's life. You now have in your
"power the man who is beſt able to give you a perfect ac-
"count of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now
"in

* *He was ſurnamed* Doſon.

" in your palace, and you may command him to be ſent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he firſt denied every thing; but he ſpoke ſo very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full diſcovery, upon being ever ſo little intimidated. Accordingly, the inſtant that the officer of juſtice appeared, he made a full confeſſion, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambaſſadors, and the ſhare he himſelf had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was ſeized; but Apelles, who was abſent, hearing that Xychus had made a full diſcovery, fled to Italy. Hiſtory does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having reſolutely denied the charge at firſt, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other hiſtorians, he bore the torture with the utmoſt fortitude, and aſſerted his innocence to the laſt gaſp. All theſe things only revived the ſorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered ſon, or to him who was ſtill living.

Perſeus being informed that his whole plot had been diſcovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf by flight. The only precaution he took was, a reſolution to keep at a diſtance from court, as long as his father ſhould live, in order to withdraw himſelf from his reſentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to ſeize Perſeus, and bring him to condign puniſhment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he ſent for Antigonus, to whoſe great care he owed the diſcovery of the conſpiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his perſonal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. " Reduced (ſays Philip) to the deplorable neceſſity of wiſhing " that my fate, which other fathers deteſt as the moſt dread- " ful calamity that can befall them (the being childleſs) I " now am reſolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I " owe to the guardianſhip of your uncle; and which he not " only preſerved by his fidelity, but enlarged conſiderably " by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but " yourſelf. And were there none capable of wearing it " with dignity, I had infinitely rather it ſhould be loſt for " ever, than that Perſeus ſhould have it, as the reward of his " impious perfidy. Methinks, I ſhall ſee Demetrius riſe " from the ſepulchre, and reſtored to his father, if I can be ſo

" happy as to ſubſtitute you in his place; you, who only be-
" wailed the untimely death of my dear ſon, and the unhappy
" credulity which proved his deſtruction."

After this, he beſtowed the higheſt honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the moſt advantageous light to the publick. Whilſt Perſeus reſided in Thrace, Philip made a progreſs through ſeveral cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction, with the utmoſt zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in poſſeſſion of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a conſiderable ſtay in Theſſalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerouſly ill. The phyſicians declared, that his ſickneſs proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he ſaw, in the dead of night, the ghoſt of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curſes on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his ſons with a ſhower of tears, and venting the moſt horrid imprecations againſt the other. Antigonus might have been raiſed to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the phyſician, who preſided in all the conſultations, did not ſtay till the king had breathed his laſt; but the very inſtant he ſaw that it was impoſſible for him to recover, he diſpatched couriers to Perſeus; it having been agreed between them, that he ſhould keep ſome in readineſs for that purpoſe; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perſeus appeared, whoſe ſudden arrival ſurprized all people. He then took poſſeſſion of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four laſt of which were employed in war againſt the Romans, for which he made preparations from his acceſſion to the throne. At laſt, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the ſeries of Perſeus's hiſtory, which has ſcarce any connection with that of the other kings, I ſhall refer it to the following book, where it ſhall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECT. II.

SECT. II. *The death of* SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR, *whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother* ANTIOCHUS, *surnamed* EPIPHANES. *Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria.* ANTIOCHUS *gains a victory over* PTOLEMY. *The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of* PHILOMETOR, *who was* ANTIOCHUS's *prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother* PTOLEMY EVERGETES, *surnamed also* PHYSCON. ANTIOCHUS *renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it.* POPILIUS, *one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of *(k)* Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprizes, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance

(k) 2 Maccab. iii.

of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner diſpoſe of them in wrong of thoſe to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not ſecure them better, than by depoſiting them in a temple, the holineſs of which was revered throughout the whole univerſe. This treaſure conſiſted of four hundred talents of ſilver (about 50,000l. ſterling) and in 200 talents of gold (300,000l. ſterling). However, the miniſter ſent from the prince, inſiſting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the conſequence, muſt all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the reſolution to execute his commiſſion. Immediately the whole city was ſeized with the utmoſt terror. The prieſts, dreſſed in their ſacerdotal veſtments, fell proſtrate at the foot of the altar; beſeeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to depoſites, to preſerve thoſe laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly beſought the Creator upon their knees, not to ſuffer ſo holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with ſackcloth, were ſeen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a ſpectacle truly worthy of compaſſion, to ſee ſuch multitudes, and eſpecially the high-prieſt, pierced with the deepeſt affliction, upon account of ſo impious a ſacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treaſury and preparing to break it open. But the * ſpirit of the Almighty now revealed itſelf by the moſt ſenſible marks; inſomuch that all thoſe who had dared to obey Heliodorus were ſtruck down by a divine power, and ſeized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horſe richly capariſoned, which ruſhing at once upon Heliodorus, ſtruck him ſeveral times with his fore feet. The man who ſat on this horſe had a terrible aſpect, and his arms ſeemed of gold. At the ſame time were ſeen two young men, whoſe beauty dazzled the eye, and who, ſtanding on each ſide of Heliodorus, ſcourged him inceſſantly, and in the moſt violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horſe, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to ſuccour him; and that, becauſe the power of God had diſplayed itſelf

* Sed ſpiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit ſuæ oſtentationis evidentiam.

ſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. By the ſame power he was caſt to the ground, ſpeechleſs, and without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of life; whilſt the temple, which before reſounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the ſhouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raiſed the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now ſome of Heliodorus's friends beſought the high-prieſt to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a ſacrifice for his health. Whilſt he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and ſaid to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-prieſt; for "it is for his ſake that the Lord has granted you life. After "having been ſcourged from heaven, declare to the whole "world his miraculous power." Having ſpoke theſe words, they vaniſhed.

Heliodorus offered up ſacrifices, and made ſolemn vows to him who had reſtored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs. The king aſking him, whether he believed that another perſon might be ſent with ſafety to Jeruſalem, he anſwered, "In caſe you have an enemy, or any traiterous "wretch who has a deſign upon your crown, ſend him thi-"ther, and you will ſee him return back quite flead with "ſcourging, and he perhaps may die under it. For he who "inhabiteth the heavens, is himſelf preſent in that place: "he is the guardian and protector of it; and he ſtrikes thoſe "mortally who go thither to injure it."

The king was ſoon puniſhed for this ſacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hoſtages, Antiochus, one of his ſons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. *(l)* He reſided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reaſon is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of ſome military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing;) and to obtain him, he ſent Demetrius his only ſon, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as an hoſtage in Antiochus's room. *(m)* During the abſence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty,

(l) Appian. in Syr. p. 116. *(m)* A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.

ſeize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poiſoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After ſpeaking of the death of Antiochus the Great he adds, *(n) Then ſhall ſtand up in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days * he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* Theſe few words denote evidently the ſhort and obſcure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out ſtill more clearly. *There ſhall ariſe up in his place* (of Antiochus) *a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, ſhall cauſe to paſs away, and* ſhall deſtroy *the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed this was the ſole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furniſh the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thouſand * talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(o) Antiochus, afterwards ſurnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the uſurper had a very ſtrong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whoſe claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's ſiſter. Antiochus had recourſe to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who ſeated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verſe 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretels every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel perſecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elſewhere by the *(p) little horn which was to iſſue out of one of the four* large *horns.* I ſhall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verſe 21.) the prophet deſcribes his acceſſion to the throne. *And in his* (Seleucus's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct ſhall ſhow how *vile* he was. It is ſaid, *that to him they ſhall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a ſon who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes

(n) Dan. xi. 20. *(o)* Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan. *(p)* Dan. viii. 9.

* *The Hebrew word may ſignify either* days *or* years.

† *About* 150,000 *l.*

Eumenes and Attalus having ſet it on his head. Being returned from the Weſt *peaceably (or rather ſecretly)* to ſurprize his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a ſpecious appearance of clemency.

(q) He aſſumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is, *illuſtrious*; which title was never worſe applied. The whole ſeries of his life will ſhew, that he deſerved much more that of *Epimanes (mad* or *furious)* which ſome people gave him.

Some circumſtances related of him prove how juſtly the epithet *vile* is beſtowed upon him in ſcripture. He uſed frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domeſticks, and ramble up and down the ſtreets of Antioch. He would ſpend his time in talking with goldſmiths and engravers in their ſhops; and in diſputing with them on the moſt minute particulars relating to the arts they profeſſed, and which he ridiculouſly boaſted he underſtood as well as they. He would very often ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places where they were aſſembled. On theſe occaſions he would ſit and drink with foreigners of the meaneſt condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleaſure between young people, he uſed to go (without ſaying a word to any perſon) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouſe and ſing with them, without obſerving the leaſt order or decorum. He ſometimes would take it into his head to diveſt himſelf of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He aſked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and ſometimes would ſet up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himſelf elected, he would call for the Curule chair *; when ſeating himſelf in it, he judged the petty ſuits relating to contracts of buying or ſelling; and pronounced ſentence with as much ſerioufneſs and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmoſt importance. We are likewiſe told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he ſquandered away a great part of his revenues in exceſs and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently ſcower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *Catch as catch can.* At other times, he would leave his palace (dreſſed in a Roman robe,

(q) Athen. l. v. p. 193.

* *This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magiſtrates.*

with a crown of roſes on his head) and walk without attendants about the ſtreets; on which occaſions, if any perſon offered to follow him, he uſed to pelt him with ſtones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpoſe. He uſed often to go and bathe himſelf in the publick baths with the common people, where he committed ſuch extravagances, as made every body deſpiſe him. After what has been ſaid (and I omit a great many other particulars) I ſubmit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *ſenſeleſs*, rather than that of *illuſtrious*.

(r) Scarce was Antiochus well ſeated on the throne, but Jaſon, brother of Onias, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, having formed a deſign to ſupplant his brother, offered that prince, ſecretly, three-hundred-and-ſixty talents (about ninety thouſand pounds ſterling) beſides eighty more (about twelve thouſand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he ſhould appoint him high-prieſt. He ſucceeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was univerſally revered for his ſtrict piety and juſtice, was depoſed, and Jaſon eſtabliſhed in his room. The latter ſubverted entirely the religion of his anceſtors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewiſh nation, as appears from the ſecond book of the Maccabees, and Joſephus.

(s) In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, ſiſter of Antiochus Epiphanes, had aſſumed the regency, and the tuition of her young ſon; and had acquitted herſelf with the greateſt care and prudence.

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to ſuperintend the king's education. Theſe were no ſooner in their employments, but they ſent a deputation to demand Cœloſyria and Paleſtine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very ſoon after occaſioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of theſe kings, and ſiſter to the other, had prevented them as long as ſhe lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not ſhew ſo much regard for Antiochus, nor ſcruple to demand of him what they believed their ſovereign's right. *(t)* It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of theſe provinces from the firſt Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great diſpoſſeſſed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his ſon, with no other right than

(r) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv. *(s)* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan. *(t)* Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii.

than that of conqueſt. They had deſcended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretenſions, declared, that, in the laſt diviſion of the empire between the four ſucceſſors of Alexander, who poſſeſſed themſelves of all countries after the battle of Iſſus, theſe provinces had been aſſigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himſelf, and his ſucceſſors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to diſpoſſeſs Egypt of thoſe provinces: that this prince had ſtipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to reſtore to him at the ſame time thoſe provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both theſe facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general diviſion which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœloſyria and Paleſtine) had been aſſigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that conſequently they belonged juſtly to the prince in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back thoſe provinces, he aſſerted, that it was an abſolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reaſons on both ſides, without coming to any concluſion, they found it neceſſary to decide their pretenſions by force of arms.

(u) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the ſolemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian cuſtom. Antiochus ſent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambaſſador, to be preſent on that occaſion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to diſcover, if poſſible, the deſigns of that court with reſpect to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, as well as what meaſures were taking with regard to them. The inſtant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by ſea to Joppa, viſited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itſelf againſt all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progreſs, he took Jeruſalem in his way. Jaſon and the whole city received him there with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. Notwithſtanding the honours paid him in Jeruſalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city

(u) 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

city and the whole Jewiſh nation. From Jeruſalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having ſettled all things in every place through which he paſſed, he returned to Antioch.

(x) The ſame Apollonius had been ſent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embaſſy. He made excuſes to the ſenate for his maſter's having ſent the tribute later than was ſtipulated by the treaty. Beſides the ſum due, he made a preſent to the people of ſeveral golden vaſes. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendſhip, which had been granted his father, ſhould be renewed with him; and deſired that the Romans would give him ſuch orders as ſuited a king, who valued himſelf on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his ſovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the ſenate; from all the youths of Rome; and from perſons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hoſtage, but as monarch. The ſenate made an obliging anſwer to theſe ſeveral particulars, and diſmiſſed Apollonius, with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and laden with preſents. It was well known, from the Roman ambaſſadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much eſteemed by the king, and had the higheſt regard for the Romans.

(y) Jaſon, the year following, ſent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate ſome other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, inſtead of confining himſelf to the orders of his commiſſion, ſupplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave riſe to tumults, diſorders, murders, and ſacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was univerſally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though ſo very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign puniſhment. I make only a tranſient mention of theſe facts, and omit the principal circumſtances of them, becauſe they belong properly to the hiſtory of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only ſuch particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in ſuch a manner as to preſerve their beauty.

(z) Antiochus

(x) Liv. l. xl. n. 6. (y) A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 173. 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

(z) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he ſaw himſelf threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; finding himſelf in a condition to begin it, reſolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but ſixteen, and was governed entirely by weak miniſters, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed. He was perſuaded that the Romans, under whoſe protection the Egyptians had put themſelves, were engaged in ſo many affairs, that it would be impoſſible for them to give the latter the leaſt ſuccour; and that the war they were carrying on againſt Perſeus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leiſure for it. In a word, he thought the preſent juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of thoſe provinces.

In the mean time, to obſerve meaſures with the Romans, he ſent ambaſſadors to the ſenate to repreſent the right he had to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, of which he was actually poſſeſſed, and the neceſſity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the ſupport of them; immediately after which he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Caſius and Peluſium; and fought a battle in which Antiochus was victorious. He made ſo good an uſe of his ſucceſs, that he put the frontier in a condition to ſerve as a barrier, and to check the utmoſt efforts the Egyptians might make to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(a) During his ſtay there, three perſons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jeruſalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his preſence of impiety and ſacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but at the requeſt of Ptolemy Macron, one of his miniſters in the intereſt of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as falſe witneſſes; *an action*, ſays the author of the Maccabees, (b) *ſo very unjuſt, that before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with com-

(z) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv c. 2. Diod. legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel. (a) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50. (b) 2 Maccab. iv. 47.

compaſſion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(c) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the iſland of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the miniſters, though they made the warmeſt inſtances upon that head; but had conſtantly refuſed to regard them, from juſtly ſuſpecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treaſure to Alexandria, and depoſited it in the exchequer. A rare inſtance of a noble diſregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his diſpoſal! So conſiderable a ſum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exaſperated at ſome ill treatment, he met with from the miniſters, or at his not having been rewarded for ſo important a ſervice, he rebelled againſt Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's ſervice, and delivered up the iſland of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite ſatisfaction, took him into the number of his confidents, made him governor of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; and ſent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the caſtle at Jeruſalem under Softratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(d) Antiochus ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt; and, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit it, invaded that country both by ſea and land. Ptolemy had raiſed a very conſiderable army, but without ſucceſs; for Antiochus gained a ſecond battle on the frontiers, took the city of Peluſium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this laſt defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have ſuffered a ſingle man to eſcape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, inſtead of making uſe of the advantage he had gained, he himſelf rode up and down on all ſides, and obliged his ſoldiers to diſcontinue the ſlaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their ſubmiſſion to him; ſo that he ſoon took Memphis, and all the reſt of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out againſt him.

Philometor

(c) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38. (d) 2 Mac. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 311.

Philometor was either taken, or elſe ſurrendered himſelf to Antiochus, who ſet him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, ſeemingly, in great friendſhip; and, for ſome time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the intereſts of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once poſſeſſed himſelf of the country, under that pretext he ſeized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himſelf, as well as his ſoldiers, with the ſpoils of the Egyptians.

(e) Philometor made a miſerable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhewn himſelf to thoſe who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he ſubmit himſelf to Antiochus, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of ſo fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preſerve it! This, however, was not ſo much owing to want of courage and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both) as the effect of his ſoft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who alſo was his prime miniſter, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himſelf as neceſſary when the young prince ſhould be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engroſs all power in his own hands.

(f) Whilſt Antiochus was in Egypt, a falſe report of his death ſpread throughout Paleſtine. Jaſon thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had loſt in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thouſand men to Jeruſalem; and there, by the aſſiſtance of his partizans in the city, made himſelf maſter of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty upon his fellow citizens, and unmercifully put to death all thoſe that fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general inſurrection, and therefore ſet forward immediately to quell it. The circumſtance which moſtly exaſperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had made great rejoicings, when a falſe report had prevailed of his death. He therefore

(e) Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310.

(f) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

therefore beſieged the city, took it by ſtorm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the ſoldiers, he cauſed fourſcore thouſand men to be inhumanly butchered. 40,000 were alſo taken priſoners, and the like number ſold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet ſatisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the ſanctuary and the moſt ſacred places; even polluting, by his preſence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the ſhew-bread, the candleſtick with ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary (all theſe were of gold;) with ſeveral other vaſes, utenſils, and gifts of kings, alſo of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the ſpoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immenſe * ſums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his ſetting out, appointed, as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous diſpoſition, governor of Samaria; and beſtowed on Menelaus, the moſt wicked of the three, the title of high-prieſt, inveſting him with the authority annexed to that office.

(g) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jeruſalem by ſtrange phænomenas in the ſkies, that had appeared there, ſome time before, during forty days ſucceſſively. Theſe were men, ſome on horſeback, and others on foot, armed with ſhields, lances, and ſwords, who forming conſiderable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(h) The Alexandrians ſeeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom at diſcretion, conſidered him as loſt to them, and therefore ſeated his younger brother upon the throne, which they firſt declared void. *(i)* On this occaſion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was ſoon changed to that of *Cacergetes*; the former ſignifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed † *Phyſcon*, or *tun-bellied*, becauſe his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. *(k)* Moſt hiſtorians mention him under

(g) 2 Maccab. v. 2—4. *(h)* Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. *(i)* Athen. l. iv. p. 184. *(k)* Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.

* *We are told in the Maccabees, Book* II. *ch.* i. *ver.* 14. *that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talenti, which are equivalent to about* 270,000 *l. ſterling.*

† φύσκων ventricoſus, obeſus, *from* φύσκη, Craſſum inteſtinum, venter.

under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief miniſters, and were ordered to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was tranſacting, took occaſion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a ſea fight near Peluſium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to beſiege it. The young king conſulted his two miniſters, who adviſed him to ſummon a grand council, compoſed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them on the meaſures proper to be taken in the preſent exigency. After many debates, they came at laſt to this reſolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to ſo low an ebb, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambaſſadors of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, ſhould be deſired to employ their mediation; to which they readily conſented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambaſſadors, who had the ſame inſtructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their propoſals on the morrow. The Achæans ſpoke firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All were unanimous in their accuſation of Eulæus; aſcribing the calamities of the war to his mal-adminiſtration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the ſame time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetorick to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great ſtreſs on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the anſwer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cauſe and origin of the war; took occaſion from thence to inforce the right he had to Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; alledged the reaſons we have related above; and produced ſome authentick inſtruments, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all the members of this congreſs were convinced that he had the juſteſt right to thoſe provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he poſtponed them till another opportunity; promiſing them that he would make preparations for

a ſolemn treaty, as ſoon as two abſent perſons, whom he named, ſhould be with him; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would not take a ſingle ſtep without them.

After this anſwer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to beſiege it. (l) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, repreſenting the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambaſſadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the ſenate, with all the marks of ſorrow uſed at that time in the greateſt afflictions, and made a ſpeech ſtill more affecting. They obſerved, that the authority of the Romans was ſo much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received ſo many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambaſſadors, that the ſenate did not approve of his making war againſt kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, ſhould the ſenate refuſe to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a diſhonour on the Romans, ſhould the world have an opportunity to ſay, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were ſo deſperate.

The ſenate, moved with their remonſtrances, and perſuaded that it would not be for the intereſt of the Romans to ſuffer Antiochus to attain to ſuch an height of power, which would be too formidable, ſhould he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hoſtilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. The inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; ſhould order them, in the name of the ſenate, to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war: and that, ſhould either of the parties refuſe a compliance, the Romans would no longer conſider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution had been taken in the ſenate, they ſet out from Rome with the Egyptian ambaſſadors.

(m) A little before their departure, ſome Rhodian ambaſſadors arrived in Egypt, who came expreſsly to terminate, if

(l) Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc. (m) Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv.

if poſſible, the diviſions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; ſtrongly inſiſting on the friendſhip with which both crowns had ſo long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to ſettle a laſting peace between them. As they expatiated conſiderably on theſe common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, that they had no occaſion to make long harangues on this ſubject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(n) He ſaid theſe words, but harboured a very different deſign; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The reſiſtance he met with from Alexandria, the ſiege of which he plainly ſaw he ſhould be forced to raiſe, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforwards be his intereſt to keep up an enmity, and occaſion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to ſuch a degree, that it ſhould be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleaſed. In this view he raiſed the ſiege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, Peluſium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleaſed, and the inſtant matters ſhould be ripe for his purpoſe. After having made theſe diſpoſitions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at laſt to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, to be ſenſible of all the calamities theſe revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to ſee through Antiochus's deſign; and that king's keeping poſſeſſion of Peluſium entirely opened his eyes. He ſaw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himſelf ſhould be reduced ſo low as to be unable to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and that then both would fall victims to his ambition. The inſtant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he ſent to inform his brother, that he deſired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their ſiſter, on condition that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was

(n) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

was reſtored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly thoſe of Alexandria, who had ſuffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus ſpoke from his heart, when he declared that the ſole deſign of his coming into Egypt was to reſtore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleaſed to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining ſuch thoughts; and I before obſerved, that he concealed, beneath thoſe ſpecious profeſſions, an intention to cruſh the two brothers, after they ſhould have reduced each other by a war.

(o) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, ſent ambaſſadors into Greece, to deſire ſome auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The aſſembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requeſted only 1000 foot under the command of Lycortas, and 200 horſe under Polybius. They had alſo given orders for raiſing 1000 mercenary troops. Callicrates, who preſided in the aſſembly, oppoſed the requeſt made by the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the intereſt of the Achæan confederates, to concern themſelves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to proſerve their ſoldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would ſoon come to a battle with Perſeus. Lycortas and Polybius then ſpeaking, obſerved, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to ſend him; the conſul thanked him, and ſaid, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he ſhould not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Beſides, that as the league was able, without the leaſt inconveniency, to levy 30 or 40,000 men; conſequently ſo ſmall a number as was deſired by the Egyptian princes would not leſſen their ſtrength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the higheſt ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in ſuch an aſſembly.

It

(o) Polyb. in Legat. lxxxix—xci.

It therefore was held, ſome time after, in Sicyon; and as the members were upon the point of taking the ſame reſolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus, and in conſequence cauſed a decree to paſs, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to ſend only an embaſſy to thoſe princes.

(p) The inſtant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he reſolved to employ his whole force againſt them. Accordingly, he ſent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preſerve the poſſeſſion of that iſland: at the ſame time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the deſign to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cauſe of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambaſſadors from Philometor, who told him, that their ſovereign was very ſenſible that he owed his reſtoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to deſtroy his own work by employing fire and ſword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretenſions. Antiochus, throwing off the maſk, no longer uſed the tender and affectionate expreſſions, of which he had till then been ſo oſtentatiouſly laviſh, but declared himſelf at once an enemy to both. He told the ambaſſadors, that he inſiſted upon having the iſland of Cyprus, with the city of Peluſium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was ſituated, reſigned to him for ever; aſſuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He alſo fixed a day for a final anſwer to his demand.

The time being elapſed, and the ſatisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hoſtilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, ſubjecting the whole country through which he paſſed; and there received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the reſt of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with deſign to beſiege that city, the poſſeſſion of which would have made him abſolute maſter of all Egypt. He would certainly have ſucceeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embaſſy, which broke all the meaſures he had been ſo long taking, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt.

We before obſerved, that the ambaſſadors, who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmoſt diligence.

(p) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

gence. They landed at Alexandria, juſt at the time Antiochus was marching to beſiege it. The ambaſſadors came up with him at * Eleuſine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king ſeeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hoſtage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not conſider himſelf on that occaſion as a private man, but a ſervant of the publick, deſired to know, before he anſwered his compliment, whether he ſpoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the ſenate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate anſwer. Antiochus, after peruſing it, ſaid, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his anſwer in a ſhort time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raiſing his voice; *Anſwer*, ſays he, *the ſenate, before you ſtir out of that circle.* The king, quite confounded at ſo haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the deſire of the ſenate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all reſpects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftineſs of ſentiments and expreſſion! The Roman with a few words ſtrikes terror into the king of Syria, and ſaves the king of Egypt.

The circumſtance which made the one ſo bold, and the other ſo ſubmiſſive, was the news that arrived juſt before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus king of Macedonia. From that inſtant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time ſtipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he ſigned the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then croſſed into Cyprus; ſent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; reſtored the whole iſland to the kings of Egypt, who laid a juſt claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy.

Ambaſſadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their ſiſter, arrived there almoſt at the ſame time. The

* *Turnebius and H. Valeſius think that we ſhould read, in Livy,* Eleuſinem *inſtead of* Leuſinem.

† Quam efficax eſt animi ſermonisque abſciſſa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Egypti texit. *Val. Max.* l. vi. c. 4.

The former ſaid, "That the peace which the ſenate had "been pleaſed to grant their ſovereign, appeared to him "more glorious than the moſt ſplendid conqueſts; and that "he obeyed the commands of the Roman ambaſſadors as "ſtrictly as if they had been ſent from the gods." How grovelling, and, at the ſame time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perſeus. The reſt of the ambaſſadors declared, in the like extravagant ſtrain, "That the two Ptole-"mies and Cleopatra thought themſelves bound in as great "obligations to the ſenate and people of Rome, as to their "parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by "the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very "grievous ſiege; and re-eſtabliſhed on the throne of their "anceſtors, of which they had been almoſt entirely diſpoſſeſ-"ſed." The ſenate anſwered, "That Antiochus acted "wiſely in paying obedience to the ambaſſadors; and that "the people and ſenate of Rome were pleaſed with him for "it." Methinks this is carrying the ſpirit of haughtineſs as high as poſſible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was anſwered; "That the ſenate were very much pleaſed "with the opportunity of doing them ſome ſervice; and "that they would endeavour to make them ſenſible, that "they ought to look upon the friendſhip and protection of "the Romans, as the moſt ſolid ſupport of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambaſſadors the uſual preſents.

SECT. III. ANTIOCHUS, *enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to aboliſh the worſhip of the true God in Jeruſalem. He exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties in that city. The generous reſiſtance made by* MATTATHIAS, *who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his ſons to fight in defence of the law of God.* JUDAS MACCABEUS *gains ſeveral victories over the generals and armies of* ANTIOCHUS. *That prince, who had marched into Perſia, in order to amaſs treaſures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is ſhamefully repulſed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he ſets out on a ſudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is ſtruck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greateſt torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

(q) ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exaſperated to ſee himſelf forcibly diſpoſſeſſed by the Romans of a crown which he looked upon already as his own,

(q) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Paleſtine, he detached 22,000 men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to deſtroy the city of Jeruſalem.

Apollonius arrived there juſt two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his firſt coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received ſuch cruel orders, and waited till the firſt day of the ſabbath before he executed them. But then, ſeeing all the people aſſembled peaceably in the ſynagogues, and paying their religious worſhip to the Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commiſſion he had received; and ſetting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to ſeize all the women and children, in order that they might be expoſed to ſale. Theſe commands were obeyed with the utmoſt cruelty and rigour. Not a ſingle man was ſpared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, inſomuch that every part of the city ſtreamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire ſet to ſeveral parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demoliſhed ſuch parts of the houſe as were ſtill ſtanding; and, with the ruins, built a ſtrong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, oppoſite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a ſtrong garriſon into it, to awe the whole Jewiſh nation; they made it a good place of arms, furniſhed with good magazines, where they depoſited all the ſpoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garriſon fell on all who came to worſhip the true God in the temple; and ſhed their blood on every part of the ſanctuary, which they polluted by all poſſible methods. A ſtop was put to both morning and evening-ſacrifices, not one of the ſervants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(r) As ſoon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he publiſhed a decree, by which the ſeveral nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aſide their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular uſages; and to profeſs the ſame religion with the king, and to worſhip the ſame gods, and after the ſame manner as he did. This decree, though expreſſed in general terms, glanced nevertheleſs chiefly at the Jews, whom he was abſolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In

(r) 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he ſent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to ſee it put in execution; and to inſtruct the people in all the ceremonies and cuſtoms to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they ſeem not to have been affected with the change of their worſhip, or gods, they however were not very well pleaſed with this innovation in religious matters. No people ſeemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They preſented a petition to the king, in which they declared themſelves not to be Jews; and deſired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciouſly, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, as they had deſired, and not to moleſt them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apoſtates who forſook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to eſcape the perſecution, to ingratiate themſelves with the king or his officers, or elſe from inclination and libertiniſm, changed alſo their religion. From theſe different motives many fell from Iſrael *(s)*; and ſeveral of thoſe who had once taken this wicked ſtep, joining themſelves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater perſecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themſelves, employed to execute this barbarous commiſſion.

The intendant, who was ſent into Judæa and Samaria, to ſee the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well verſed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reaſon, was judged a fit perſon to invite thoſe nations to join in it. As ſoon as he arrived in Jeruſalem, he began by putting a ſtop to the ſacrifices which were offered up to the God of Iſrael, and ſuppreſſing all the obſervances of the Jewiſh law. They polluted the temple in ſuch a manner, that it was no longer fit for the ſervice of God; profaned the ſabbaths and other feſtivals; forbid the circumciſion of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law

(s) 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

* *They expreſſed themſelves in that manner, becauſe the mighty name of the God of Iſrael* (Jehovah) *was never uttered by the Jews.*

wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country; and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

(t) One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed *Gaddis*; Simon, surnamed *Thasi*; Judas, surnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar, called *Abaron*; and Jonathan, called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After

(t) 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

* Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.

After having made this declaration, ſeeing a Jew going up to the altar which the Heathens had raiſed, to ſacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and tranſported with a * juſt and holy indignation, he fell upon the apoſtate and killed him: after this, being aſſiſted by his ſons, and ſome others who joined them, he alſo killed the king's commiſſioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the ſtandard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city; † *Whoſoever is zealous of the law (u), and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had aſſembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worſhip of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they ſoon were followed by others; ſo that all the deſarts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the perſecution.

(x) At firſt, when the Jews were attacked on the ſabbath, for fear of violating the holineſs of the day, they did not dare to make the leaſt defence, but ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces. However they ſoon became ſenſible, that the law of the ſabbath was not binding to perſons in ſuch imminent danger as themſelves.

(y) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not ſo implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, he went thither in perſon, in order to ſee them put in execution. He then exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties over all ſuch Jews as refuſed to abjure their religion; in order to force the reſt, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (z) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her ſeven ſons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their hiſtory is univerſally known, they appear to me ſo important and relate ſo nearly to Antiochus, whoſe life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myſelf to omit it. I ſhall therefore repeat it in almoſt the very words of ſcripture.

The extreme violence of the perſecution occaſioned many to fall away: but, on the other ſide, ſeveral continued inflexible, and choſe to ſuffer death, rather than pollute themſelves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the moſt illuſtrious among theſe. He was a venerable old man, ninety

(u) 1 Maccab. vii. 27. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8. Joſeph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v.

(x) Ibid. ii 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11.

(y) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

(z) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

* *God had commanded his people to ſlay thoſe who ſhould perſuade them to ſacrifice to idols.* See Deut. ch. xii. ver. 6--11.

† Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, ſtatuens teſtamentum, exeat poſt me.

years of age, and a doctor of the law, whoſe life had been one continued ſeries of ſpotleſs innocence. He was commanded to eat ſwine's fleſh, and endeavours were uſed to make him ſwallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution; and perſevering in his reſolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to ſave his life.

His friends who were preſent, moved with an unjuſt compaſſion, took him aſide, and earneſtly beſought him to permit them to bring him ſuch meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the ſacrifice, purſuant to the king's command; and by that means ſave his life. But Eleazar, conſidering only what great age, the noble and generous ſentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, anſwered, purſuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than conſent to what was deſired from him. "It "would be ſhameful," ſays he to them, "for me, at this "age to uſe ſuch an artifice, as many young men, upon the "ſuppoſition that Eleazar, at fourſcore-and-ten years of age, "had embraced the principles of the Heathens, would be "impoſed upon by ſuch deceit, which I ſhould have employ-"ed to preſerve the ſhort remains of a corruptible life; and "thereby I ſhould diſhonour my old age, and expoſe it to the "curſes of all men. Beſides, ſuppoſing I ſhould by that "means avoid the puniſhment of men, I could never fly "from the hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, "nor in that which is to come. For this reaſon, if I lay "down my life courageouſly, I ſhall appear worthy of old "age; and ſtill leave behind me, for the imitation of young "people, an example of conſtancy and reſolution, by ſuffer-"ing patiently an honourable death, for the ſake of our vene-"rable and holy laws." Eleazar had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with ſome humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had ſaid, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his laſt, he vented a deep ſigh, and ſaid: "O Lord! thou who art poſſeſſed of the holy know-"ledge, thou ſeeſt that I, who could have delivered myſelf "from death, do yet ſuffer cruel agonies in my body, but "in my ſoul find joy in my ſufferings, becauſe I fear thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the

the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and reſolution.

At this time ſeven brothers, with their mother, were ſeized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat ſwine's fleſh contrary to their law, by cauſing their bodies to be ſcourged in a moſt inhuman manner. But the eldeſt of the brethren ſaid to him; "What is it thou wouldſt aſk or have "of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than "violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exaſperated at theſe words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he cauſed the tongue of that man who had ſpoke firſt to be cut off; had the ſkin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought cloſe to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilſt theſe variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageouſly, ſaying; "The Lord God will have regard to truth: he "will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moſes declares in "his ſong."

The firſt dying in this manner, the ſecond was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the ſkin, were tore away, he was aſked whether he would eat of ſome meats which were preſented to him, otherwiſe, that all his limbs ſhould be ſevered from his body. But he anſwered in the language of his country, "I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the ſame manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he ſpoke thus to the king: "Wicked prince, "you bereave us of this terreſtrial life; but the king of hea"ven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will "one day raiſe us up to everlaſting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards ſtretching forth his hands with the utmoſt tranquillity of mind, he bravely ſaid; "I received theſe limbs from heaven, "but I now deſpiſe them, ſince I am to defend the laws of "God; from the ſure and ſtedfaſt hopes that he will one day "reſtore them to me." The king and all his followers were aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of this young man, who ſcorned the utmoſt efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the ſame manner, and being ready to die, he ſaid to the monarch; "It is for our advan"tage to be killed by men, becauſe we hope that God will

" reſtore us to life at the reſurrection: but you, O king, will " never riſe to life."

The fifth, whilſt they were tormenting him, ſaid to Antiochus; " You now act according to your own will and " pleaſure, becauſe you are inveſted with abſolute human " power, though you are but a mortal man. But do not " imagine that God has forſaken our nation. Stay but a " little, and you will ſee the wondrous effects of his " power; and in what manner he will torment yourſelf and " your race."

The ſixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, ſaid; " Do not deceive yourſelf: it is true, indeed, our ſins " have drawn upon us the exquiſite tortures which we now " ſuffer: but do not flatter yourſelf with the hopes of impu- " nity, after having preſumed to make war againſt God " himſelf."

In the mean time their mother, ſupported by the hopes that ſhe had in God, beheld, with incredible reſolution, all her ſeven ſons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wiſeſt and moſt pathetick diſcourſe, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderneſs of a mother, ſhe ſaid to them; " I know not in what manner you were " formed in my womb; for it was not I who inſpired you " with a ſoul and with life, nor formed your members: " but I am ſure that the Creator of the world, who " faſhioned man, and who gave being to all things, will one " day reſtore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for " your having deſpiſed it here, out of the love you bear to " his laws."

There ſtill remained her youngeſt ſon. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; aſſuring him, with an oath, that he would raiſe him to riches and power; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forſake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being inſenſible to all theſe promiſes, the king called his mother, and adviſed her to inſpire the child with ſalutary counſels. This ſhe promiſed; and going up to her ſon, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, ſhe ſaid to him in her native language; " Son, have pity " on me; on me, who bore you nine months in my womb; " who for three years fed you with milk from my breaſts, " and brought you up ever ſince. I conjure you, dear child, " to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they con- " tain, and firmly to believe that God formed them all as " well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; but ſhew " yourſelf worthy of your brethren, by ſubmitting chearfully

" to

" to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I may re-
" ceive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which
" awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud; " What is it you expect from me? I do not obey the
" king's command, but the law which was given us by
" Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with
" which the Hebrews have been afflicted flow, you shall not
" escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed,
" are owing to our sins: but, if the Lord our God, to punish
" us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he at last will
" be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for
" you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not
" flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the
" judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipo-
" tent. As to my brothers; after having suffered a moment
" the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In imita-
" tion of the example they have set me, I freely give up my
" body and life for the laws of my fore-fathers; and I be-
" seech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force
" you by wounds and tortures of every kind to confess that he
" is the only God; and that his anger, which is justly fal-
" len on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of
" my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

(a) Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

(b) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious

(a) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12. *(b)* Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, coſt immenſe ſums, and laſted ſeveral days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, anſwered in every reſpect to the character given him by Daniel *(c)*, who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *man*; as I have ſaid elſewhere. He there did ſo many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, aſſembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing ſtock of them all: and many of them were ſo much diſguſted, that, to prevent their being ſpectators of a conduct ſo unworthy a prince, and ſo repugnant to the rules of modeſty and decorum, they refuſed to go any more to the feaſts to which he invited them.

(d) He had ſcarce ended the ſolemnization of theſe games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambaſſador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him ſo polite and friendly a reception, that the ambaſſador not only laid aſide all ſuſpicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any reſentment with reſpect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed thoſe who ſpread ſuch reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beſide other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to reſign his crown to him. The ambaſſador ought to have been politician enough to ſuſpect all theſe careſſes: for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might beſt revenge himſelf of the Romans; but he diſguiſed his ſentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(e) Whilſt Antiochus was amuſing himſelf with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortreſſes, threw ſtrong garriſons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he ſhould be able to check his progreſs, and accordingly marched directly againſt him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great ſlaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of revenging the affront his maſter had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was alſo defeated and killed in the battle.

When

(c) Dan. xi. 21. *(d)* Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 322. *(e)* 1 Maccab. iii. 1.—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exaſperated to fury. Immediately he aſſembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to deſtroy the whole Jewiſh nation, and to ſettle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not ſufficient ſums in his coffers, having exhauſted them in the fooliſh expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to ſuſpend the vengeance he meditated againſt the Jewiſh nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that deſign.

(f) He had ſquandered immenſe ſums on the games. Beſides this, he had been extravagantly profuſe in every other reſpect, particularly in the preſents he beſtowed on particular perſons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; ſometimes ſeaſonably enough, but moſt frequently without ſenſe or reaſon. On theſe occaſions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he ſhould *(g) ſcatter among them the prey and ſpoil of riches*; and the author of the *(h)* Maccabees ſays, that he had been exceeding liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him.* We are told by *(i)* Athenæus, that the circumſtances which enabled him to defray ſo prodigious an expence were, firſt, the ſpoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promiſe he had made Philometor in his minority; ſecondly, the ſums he had raiſed among his friends, by way of free gifts; laſtly, (which was the moſt conſiderable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had ſacrilegiouſly invaded.

(k) Beſides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others aroſe, according to Daniel's prophecy, *from the tidings* which came to him *out of the Eaſt and out of the North.* For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled againſt him; and Perſia, which lay eaſtward, diſcontinued the regular payment of the tribute. *(l)* There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things ſeemed in the utmoſt confuſion occaſioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient cuſtoms of ſo many of his ſubjects were aboliſhed; and thoſe of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculouſly fond, eſtabliſhed in their ſtead. Theſe things occaſioned great confuſion with reſpect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vaſt and rich empire, and had always

(f) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. *(g)* Dan. xi. 44. *(h)* 1 Maccab. iii. 30. *(i)* Athen. l. v. p. 195. *(k)* Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum. *(l)* 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

ſupplied ſums ſufficient to defray the great expences it was neceſſary to be at.

(m) To remedy theſe grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he reſolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to Lyſias, deſcended from the blood-royal, in order that he might ſubdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Perſia, to reinſtate the affairs of thoſe provinces in their former flouriſhing condition. He accordingly left Lyſias the government of all the countries on this ſide the Euphrates; and the care of his ſon's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After paſſing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him priſoner. He marched from thence into Perſia, where he ſuppoſed he ſhould have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and thoſe in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himſelf, that he ſhould there find ſums ſufficient to fill his coffers, and reinſtate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilſt he was forming all theſe projects, Lyſias was meditating how he might beſt put in execution the orders he had left him, eſpecially thoſe which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, ſo as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to diſtribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it neceſſary for him to make the more diſpatch in this expedition, becauſe advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progreſs and increaſed in ſtrength by taking all the fortreſſes which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, ſeeing Judas's ſucceſs, had ſent expreſſes, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlofyria and Paleſtine, on which Judæa depended; and had preſſed him, by letter, to employ ſuch meaſures as might beſt ſupport the intereſts of their common ſovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyſias. A reſolution was therefore immediately taken, to ſend an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generaliſſimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; ſent him before, at the head of 20,000 men,

(m) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

* *He was then but ſeven years old.*

men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of conſummate experience, to aſſiſt him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were ſoon followed by Ptolemy, with the reſt of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jeruſalem. It conſiſted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horſe.

Thither alſo repaired an army of another kind. It conſiſted of merchants that came to purchaſe the ſlaves, who, it was ſuppoſed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of levying large ſums of money by this means, ſufficient to pay * the 2000 talents which the king ſtill owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, publiſhed a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the priſoners taken in that war ſhould be ſold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A reſolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the reſt to a ſtate of captivity; and 180,000 of the latter, at the price abovementioned, would have ſold exactly for the ſum in queſtion. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought conſiderable ſums with them. We are told that a thouſand, all of them very conſiderable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occaſion, without including their domeſticks and the perſons they ſhould want to look after the captives they intended to purchaſe.

Judas and his brethren perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of ſo powerful an army, which, they knew, had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewiſh nation, reſolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themſelves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die ſword in hand. Accordingly they divided the 6000 men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himſelf at the head of the firſt, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maſpha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his aſſiſtance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, becauſe, as Jeruſalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the ſanctuary trampled upon, they could not aſſemble in it to ſolemnize that religious act; and Maſpha ſeemed the fitteſt place for that purpoſe, becauſe God was worſhipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(n) Here

* *About* 300,000 *l. ſterling.* † *A thouſand crowns.*

(n) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each ſide very unequal, and the diſpoſition of their minds ſtill more ſo. (o) They agree, however, in one point, that is, both are firmly perſuaded they ſhall gain the victory; the one, becauſe they have a mighty army of well diſciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, becauſe they put their whole truſt in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (p) law, that thoſe who had built a houſe that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's ſix thouſand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheleſs this valiant captain of the people of God, reſolutely determined to fight the mighty hoſt of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the iſſue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his ſoldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the preſent conjuncture ſupplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they muſt prepare for it.

But receiving advice that ſame evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, all choſen troops; and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apoſtate Jews led him, in order to come and ſurprize his camp in the night; he was not ſatisfied with fruſtrating that deſign, but even made uſe of the very ſtratagem which the enemy intended to employ againſt him, and was ſucceſsful in it. For, raiſing his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the beſt troops having been detached from it; and ſpread ſuch terror and confuſion into every part of it, that after three thouſand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the reſt fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was ſtill at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wiſe captain, kept his troops together; and would not ſuffer them to ſtraggle about after plunder, or in purſuit of the enemy, till they ſhould have defeated that body alſo. He was ſucceſsful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having ſought for him in vain in the mountains whither he ſuppoſed he had retired, withdrew at laſt into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his ſoldiers ſtraggling and flying away, it was impoſſible for him to keep them in order; ſo that

(n) Judges xx. 2. (o) 2 Reg. vii. 5. (p) Deut. xx. 5, &c.

that theſe threw down their arms and fled alſo. Then Judas, and the men under his command, purſued them vigorouſly, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occaſion, than they had before done in the camp. 9000 Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greateſt part of thoſe who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his ſoldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immenſe booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themſelves taken priſoners and ſold. The next day, being the ſabbath, was ſolemnized in the moſt religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occaſion, gave themſelves up to an holy joy; and unanimouſly returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and ſignal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a ſenſible image of the feeble oppoſition which the human arm is able to make againſt that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs. *How can we*, ſays he to the Almighty before the battle, *ſtand before them, unleſs thou thyſelf aſſiſteſt us?* And it is as evident that he was no leſs firmly perſuaded of the ſucceſs of his arms. *The victory* (he had ſaid above) *does not depend on the number of ſoldiers, but it is from heaven that all our ſtrength comes.* But although Judas had ſo entire a confidence in God, he employs all thoſe expedients which the moſt experienced and braveſt general could uſe, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, becauſe all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.——We are ſtill poſſeſſed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain ſuch thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almoſt unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all thoſe human advantages, but ſolely on the protection of the God of armies.

(q) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this ſucceſs brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to diſtreſs the reſt of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raiſing troops to fight him, he marched againſt them,

(q) 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of 20,000 of their men.

(r) Lyſias hearing of the ill ſucceſs which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great loſſes he had ſuſtained in that country, was in great aſtoniſhment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a ſtrong deſire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition againſt the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of 60,000 foot and 5000 horſe, all choſen troops; and putting himſelf at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly reſolved to lay waſte the whole country, and to deſtroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethſura, a city ſtanding to the ſouth of Jeruſalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thouſand men; and, fully perſuaded that the Lord would aſſiſt him, he engaged the enemy with his inconſiderable body of troops, killed five thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight. Lyſias, diſmayed at the ſurprizing valour of Judas's ſoldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheleſs, to come and attack them again the next year with a ſtill more powerful body of forces.

(s) Judas, being left maſter of the field by the retreat of Lyſias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jeruſalem, where he recovered the ſanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the ſervice of God. This ſolemn dedication continueda week, all which was ſpent in thankſgiving for the delivery that God had vouchſafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniverſary of it ſhould be ſolemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the proſperity of the Jews, made a league to deſtroy them; and reſolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

(t) This prince was then in Perſia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and eſpecially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius ſays was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious ſums were laid up. He went thither, with a deſign to take

(r) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. *(s)* 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. *(t)* A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

take the city and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jeruſalem. But his deſign having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a ſhameful repulſe. Antiochus, thunder-ſtruck at this diſgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and deſtruction. Advancing in this diſpoſition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, freſh expreſſes came to him with advice of Lyſias's defeat, and alſo that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had ſet up in them, and re-eſtabliſhed their ancient worſhip. At this news his fury increaſed. Immediately he commands his coachmen to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, in order that he might have an opportunity to ſatiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jeruſalem the burying-place of the whole Jewiſh nation, and not to leave one ſingle inhabitant in it. He had ſcarce uttered that blaſphemous expreſſion, but he was ſtruck by the hand of God. He was ſeized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the moſt exceſſive pangs of the colick. *Thus the murderer and blaſphemer*, ſays the author of the Maccabees, *having ſuffered moſt grievouſly, as he treated other men, ſo died he a miſerable death, in a ſtrange country in the mountain.*

But ſtill his pride was not abated by this firſt ſhock: ſo far from it, that ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance againſt the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all poſſible ſpeed in the journey. But as his horſes were running forwards impetuouſly he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruiſed, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; ſo that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he ſuffered inexpreſſible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his fleſh fell away piece-meal, and the ſtench was ſo great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himſelf unable to bear it, *(u) It is meet*, ſays he, *to be ſubject unto God; and man who is mortal, ſhould not think of himſelf as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Iſrael which ſtruck him, becauſe of the calamities he had brought upon Jeruſalem, he

(u) 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

he promiſes to exert his utmoſt liberality towards his choſen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jeruſalem which he had plundered; to furniſh, from his revenues, the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expence of the ſacrifices; to turn Jew himſelf; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publiſh the power of the Almighty. He hoped he ſhould calm his wrath by theſe mighty promiſes, which the violence of his preſent affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in queſtion, (x) *This wicked perſon vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murderer and blaſphemer (theſe are the names which the writer of the Maccabees ſubſtituted in the place of *illuſtrious*, which men had beſtowed on that prince) being ſtruck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finiſhed an impious life by a miſerable death *.

Before he expired, he ſent to Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had beſtowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his ſon, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the ſeal of the empire, and all the other enſigns of royalty; exhorting him, eſpecially, to employ his utmoſt endeavours to give him ſuch an education as would beſt teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. Few princes give ſuch inſtructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having ſet them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip cauſed the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had ſat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of* DANIEL *relating to* ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent perſecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewiſh church; and was, at the ſame time, the type of the Antichriſt, who, in after ages, was to afflict the Chriſtian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy conſiſts of two parts, one

(x) 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

* *Polybius atteſts the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that ſpectres ſtood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This hiſtorian, who was unacquainted with the ſcriptures, aſſigns as the cauſe of this puniſhment, the ſacrilegious attempt formed by this prince againſt the temple of Diana in Elymais.* Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the perſecution carried on by him againſt the Jews. We ſhall treat theſe ſeparately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. The wars of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt, foretold by Daniel the prophet.

(y) *And in his* (Seleucus Philopator's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verſe, which points out the acceſſion of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(z) *And with the arms of a flood ſhall they* (the Syrians) *be overflown before him* (Antiochus Epiphanes) *and ſhall be broken; yea, the prince of the covenant.* Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as alſo thoſe of the Egyptian king, who had formed deſigns againſt Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and diſperſed by the arrival of Antiochus, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may ſuppoſe to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conſpirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who loſt his life by a conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, when he was meditating a war againſt Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adverſary, to make way for Antiochus, and raiſe him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verſes, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

Antiochus's *firſt* Expedition *into* Egypt.

(a) *And after the league made with him* (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew, king of Egypt) *he ſhall work deceitfully; for he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a ſmall people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; *he yet ſhall aſſume a ſpecious appearance of friendſhip for the king of Egypt.* He even ſent Apollonius to Memphis, to be preſent at the banquet given on occaſion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a *ſmall army*, in compariſon of thoſe which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Peluſium. Antiochus *was ſtrongeſt*, that is, victorious, and after-

(y) Dan. xi. 21. (z) Ver. 22. (a) Dan. xi. 23.

afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his firſt expedition.

Antiochus's *ſecond* Expedition *into* Egypt.

(b) He ſhall enter peaceably upon the fatteſt places of the province (Egypt;) *and he ſhall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers; he ſhall ſcatter among them* (his troops) *the prey and ſpoil and riches; yea, and he ſhall forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds, even for a time.*

(c) And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his courage againſt the king of the South (of Egypt) *with a great army, and the king of the South ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he ſhall not ſtand; for they ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him.*

(d) Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) *meat, ſhall deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow; and many ſhall fall down ſlain.*

In theſe three verſes appear the principal characters of Antiochus's ſecond expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conqueſts, the rich ſpoils he carried from thence, and the diſſimulation and treachery he began to practiſe with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by ſea and land, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit. *(e) Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy.——And made war againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt: But Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death.——Thus they got the ſtrong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the ſpoils thereof.*

Daniel, ſome verſes after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

(f) And at the time of the end ſhall the king of the South puſh at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at;) *and the king of the North* (Antiochus) *ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs over.*

(g) He ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, and many countries ſhall be overthrown: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand,

(b) Dan. xi. ver. 24. *(c)* Dan. xi. 25. *(d)* Ver. 26. *(e)* 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19. *(f)* Dan. xi. 40. *(g)* Ver. 41.

hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

(h) He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape.

(i) But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over the precious things of Egypt, &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect reſemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the hiſtorian.

(k) Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He ſubdued Egypt with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, and did that *(l) which his forefathers had not done, nor his fathers fathers.*

Ptolemy either ſurrendered himſelf, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at firſt treated him with kindneſs; had but one table with him, ſeemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, reſerving to himſelf Peluſium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus aſſumed this appearance of friendſhip with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. *(m) They that feed of the portion of his meat ſhall deſtroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long ſtay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march againſt them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raiſed Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his ſtead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had paſſed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of reſtoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS's *third* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

(n) And both theſe kings hearts ſhall be to do miſchief; and they ſhall ſpeak lyes at one table; but it ſhall not proſper; for yet the end ſhall be at the time appointed.

(o) *Then*

(b) Dan. xi. 42. (i) Ver. 43. (k) In Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310. (l) Dan. xi. 24. (m) Ver. 26. (n) Ver. 27.

(o) Then ſhall he (Antiochus) *return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could ſcarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raiſed Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring Philometor: *(p) Per honeſtum ſpecimen majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a ſea fight at Peluſium, he laid ſiege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a ſtrong oppoſition, he was contented with making himſelf maſter of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whoſe defence he pretended to have drawn the ſword: *(q) Cui regnum quæri ſuis viribus ſimulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the ſame table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a ſincere friendſhip. The uncle ſeemed to have his nephew's intereſt at heart, and the nephew to repoſe the higheſt confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere ſhow and outſide, both diſſembling their real ſentiments. The uncle endeavoured to cruſh his nephew: *(r) Cui regnum quæri ſuis viribus ſimulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur*; and the nephew, who ſaw through his deſign, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus*, ſtrove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither ſucceeded in deceiving of the other: Nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

Antiochus's *fourth* Expedition *into* Egypt.

(s) At the time appointed he ſhall return, and come toward the South, but it ſhall not be as the former, or as the latter.

(t) For the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come againſt him: Therefore he ſhall be grieved and return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant.

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the maſk, and declared publickly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himſelf. And, to ſupport his pretenſions, *he returned towards the South*, that is, into Egypt, but was not ſo ſucceſsful in this expedition as before. *(u)* As he was advancing forward to beſiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambaſſadors, who were on board a fleet compoſed of Macedonian or Greek ſhips (for

(o) Dan. xi. ver. 28. *(p)* Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. *(q)* Liv. l. xiv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel. *(r)* Liv. ibid. *(s)* Dan. xi. 29. *(t)* Ibid. 30. *(u)* Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

(for this the Hebrew word Chittim ſignifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but *with the utmoſt reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jeruſalem feel the dire effects of his indignation*, as will be preſently ſeen.

Had the prophet been eye-witneſs to this event, would it have been poſſible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. Cruel perſecutions exercised by Antiochus againſt the Jews, and foretold by the prophet Daniel.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and thoſe of his four ſucceſſors.

(x) Behold an he-goat came from the Weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.——Could it have been poſſible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts? *(y) The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* Theſe are Alexander's four ſucceſſors. *(z) And out of one of them came forth a litle horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South, and toward the Eaſt, and toward the pleaſant land.* This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained ſeveral victories towards the South and the Eaſt, and who ſtrongly oppoſed the army of the Lord and the Jewiſh people, of whom God was the ſtrength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed againſt the people of God, the prieſts of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(a) And it waxed great (the horn) *even to the hoſt of heaven, and it caſt down ſome of the hoſt, and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped upon them.*——*(b) Yea, he magnified himſelf even to the prince of the hoſt* (to God;) *and by him the daily ſacrifice was taken away, and the place of his ſanctuary was caſt down.*——*(c) And an hoſt was given him againſt the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of tranſgreſſion, and it caſt down the truth to the ground, and it practiſed and proſpered.*

Daniel gives ſtill greater extent to the ſame prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(*d*) *His*

(*x*) Dan. viii. 5. (*y*) Ver. 8. (*z*) Ver. 9. (*a*) Ver. 10. (*b*) Ver. 11. (*c*) Ver. 11.

(d) His heart ſhall be againſt the holy covenant; and he ſhall do exploits.——He ſhall return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant.

(e) During the ſiege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accuſed of expreſſing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, ſtormed it, and exerciſed all the barbarity that his fury could ſuggeſt. About forty * thouſand men were killed, and the ſame number ſold as ſlaves, in the compaſs of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the veſſels, treaſures, and rich ornaments.

(f) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occaſion againſt the Jews. He ſent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to ſell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jeruſalem, ſet fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(g) He ſhall return, and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy covenant.——And arms ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination that maketh deſolate.——And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall he corrupt by flatteries, &c.

(h) Antiochus declared openly for all thoſe who ſhould renounce the law. Having publiſhed an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he ſent ſome officers to Jeruſalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and aboliſh the worſhip of the Moſt High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his ſtatue in it. They raiſed in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer ſacrifices, and eat of meats ſacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, ſeemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their baſe apoſtaſy.

(i) And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant ſhall Antiochus *corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God,*

(d) Dan. xi. 28, 30. *(e)* 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. & ii. 5—21. Joſeph. Lib. de Maccab. &c. *(f)* 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. & ii. 24—26. *(g)* Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32. *(h)* 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c. *(i)* Dan. xi. 32.

* *We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.*

God, ſhall be ſtrong and do exploits. This manifeſtly points at old Eleazar, the ſeven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageouſly oppoſed the impious orders of the king.

(k) And they that underſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by the ſword, and by flame, by captivity, and by ſpoil many days. This relates chiefly to Mattathias, and his ſons.

(l) Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhall be holpen with a little help: but many ſhall cleave to them with flatteries. Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus ſupported the diſtreſſed nation, and the almoſt-univerſally abandoned religion, with ſo ſmall a number of forces, that we can conſider the ſucceſs which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwiſe than as a miracle. The troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very conſiderable body.

(m) And ſome of them of underſtanding ſhall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; becauſe it is yet for a time appointed. The ſufferings and death of thoſe who ſtedfaſtly refuſed to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

(n) And the king ſhall do according to his will, and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every god, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed: for that that is determined, ſhall be done.

(o) Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of women, nor regard any god: for he ſhall magnify himſelf above all.

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exerciſed his impious fury chiefly againſt Jeruſalem and the Jews, and almoſt without any reſiſtance. The Almighty ſeemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath againſt his people was ſatisfied.

(p) But tidings out of the Eaſt, and out of the North, ſhall trouble him: therefore he ſhall go forth with great fury to deſtroy, and utterly to make away many.

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the Eaſt, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke.

(k) Dan. xi. 33. (l) Ver. 34. (m) Ver. 35. (n) Ver. 36. (o) Ver. 37. (p) Ver. 44.

Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a reſolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. *(q)* Before he ſet out for the provinces on the other ſide of the Euphrates, he gave Lyſias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his abſence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to ſettle other nations in their country.

(r) He ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace [* in Apadno] *between the ſons in the glorious holy mountain* [of Zabi;] *yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him.* This verſe, which is tranſlated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, becauſe of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up theſe kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reaſon to ſuſpect, imagined that this verſe alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greateſt part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be ſatisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus ſhall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtleſs the ſame with *Taba* †, where according to *(s)* Polybius, he died) and that there he *ſhall come to his end*, being abandoned by God, and having none to *help him*. We have ſeen how he expired, in the moſt cruel agonies, and ſtruck with an unavailing repentance, which only increaſed his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and ſeveral interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel ſpeaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another ſenſe, as alluding to Antichriſt. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the moſt ſenſible, as well as moſt expreſſive, types of that enemy of Chriſt Jeſus and our holy religion.

It is impoſſible for us, whilſt we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiouſly ſtruck to ſee the juſtneſs and accuracy

(q) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39. *(r)* Dan. xi. 45. *(s)* Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

* Antiochus demere ſuperſtitionem & mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus eſt: nam ea tempeſtate Arſaces defecerat. *Tacit.* v. c. 8.

* N. B. *The words between the crotchets in this verſe are not in our Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible.*

† *Taba, according to Polybius, was in Perſia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintius Curtius.*

curacy with which the prophet traces the principal characteriſticks of a king, whoſe hiſtory is ſo much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that, for this reaſon the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a tranſient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells ſo long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, ſo very remote, and which depend on ſo many arbitrary circumſtances! How manifeſtly did the Spirit, which preſented futurity to his view, ſhew it him as preſent, and in as clear a light, as if he had ſeen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the ſcriptures, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, the certainty of the Chriſtian religion, become, by ſuch proofs, in a manner palpable and ſelf-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in ſo clear, ſo perfect, and ſo indiſputable a manner as this. Porphyry*, the profeſſed enemy of the Chriſtian religion, as well as of the Old and New Teſtament, being infinitely perplexed in finding ſo great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the beſt hiſtorians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to ſenſe, and denying the ſhining of the ſun at noon-day. However, he took another courſe, in order to undermine the authority of the ſcriptures. He himſelf laboured, by citing all the hiſtorians extant at that time, and which are ſince loſt, to ſhew, in a very extenſive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that ſo exact a detail of ſo great a number of events could not poſſibly have been written by Daniel ſo many years before they happened; and that this work muſt certainly have been wrote by ſome perſon who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this conteſt between the Chriſtians and Heathens, the former would indiſputably carry their cauſe, could they be able to demonſtrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanſwerably, by citing the teſtimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whoſe evidence could not be ſuſpected or diſallowed, as they were ſtill greater enemies to the Chriſtian religion than the Heathens themſelves. The reverence they had for the ſacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the

* *Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233. and wrote a very voluminous treatiſe againſt the Chriſtian religion.*

depoſitaries and guardians, was ſo prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and ſacrilegious wretch, who ſhould have attempted only to tranſpoſe a ſingle word, or change one letter in it; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who ſhould pretend to introduce any ſuppoſititious books in them? Such are the witneſſes who atteſted the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs ſo convincing, or cauſe ſo victorious? *(t) Thy teſtimonies are very ſure*——— O LORD, *for ever.*

(t) Pſal. xciii. v.

BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF Alexander's Succeſſors, CONTINUED.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the firſt the hiſtory of Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The ſecond article goes on from the defeat of Perſeus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes ſomething more than one and twenty years. The third article contains the hiſtory of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almoſt an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Aſiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman Empire; that is to ſay, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The hiſtory of Egypt includes alſo one hundred years from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometor; the expulſion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is from the year of the world 3845, to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

SECT. I. PERSEUS *prepares ſecretly for a war againſt the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His ſecret meaſures not unknown at Rome.* EUMENES *arrives there, and informs the ſenate of them.* PERSEUS *attempts to rid himſelf of that prince, firſt by aſſaſſination, and afterwards by poiſon. The Romans break with* PERSEUS. *Different opinions and diſpoſitions of the kings and ſtates in regard to the Macedonian war. After ſeveral embaſſies on both ſides, the war is declared in form.*

THE death of Philip (a) happened very opportunely for ſuſpending the war againſt the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a ſtrange deſign, and had already begun to put it in execution; which was, to bring a conſiderable body of troops, both horſe and foot, from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had ſettled near the mouths of the Boryſthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Baſtarnæ. That people were neither accuſtomed to till the the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and ſold their ſervices to any people that would employ them. After having paſſed the Danube, Philip was to have ſettled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had reſolved utterly to exterminate; becauſe, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occaſion for making irruptions into it. The Baſtarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new ſettlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themſelves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the ſucceſs might be, Philip conceived he ſhould find great advantages in it: if it ſhould happen that the Baſtarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he ſhould eaſily be conſoled for their defeat, in ſeeing himſelf delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy ſucceeded, whilſt the Romans were employed in repulſing theſe new enemies, he ſhould have time to recover all he had loſt in Greece. The Baſtarnæ were already upon their march, and were conſiderably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news and ſeveral accidents that befell them, ſuſpended the firſt deſign, and they diſperſed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his ſucceſſor, had been employed againſt his will in negotiating this affair.

At

(a) A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 20.

At his return, Perſeus put him to death, and to aſſure himſelf the better of the throne, ſent ambaſſadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the ſenate would acknowledge him king. His ſole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Baſtarnæ *(b)* had purſued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perſeus excuſed himſelf by his ambaſſadors, and repreſented that he had not ſent for them, and had no ſhare in their enterprize. The ſenate, without making any farther enquiry into the affair, contented themſelves with adviſing him to take care that he obſerved inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Baſtarnæ, after having gained ſome advantages at firſt, were at length reduced, the greateſt part of them at leaſt, to return into their own country. It is ſaid, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to paſs it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were ſwallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome *(c)*, that Perſeus had ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, and that the ſenate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æſculapius. It was thought proper to ſend ambaſſadors into Macedonia to obſerve the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refuſed to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of conſulting the oracle, but in reality, it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at firſt alarmed the whole country, and occaſioned ſo general a conſternation, that even Eumenes did not think himſelf ſafe in Pergamus. But Perſeus, as ſoon as he had conſulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, paſſing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Theſſaly, without committing any hoſtilities in his march. He afterwards ſent either ambaſſadors or circular letters to all the ſtates through which he had paſſed, to demand that they would forget ſuch ſubjects of diſcontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himſelf with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried

(b) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Freinſheim in Liv. *(c)* A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

* *Dolopia was a region of Theſſaly, upon the confines of Epirus.*

ried their hatred and reſentment ſo high againſt the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the ſlaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an aſſured aſylum, and knew they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perſeus cauſed all theſe ſlaves to be ſeized, and ſent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and deſired to make his court to the king, ſeconded his demand very ſtrongly, and was ſupported by thoſe who were moſt ſolicitous for recovering their ſlaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal perſons of the aſſembly, who was convinced that the ſafety of the league conſiſted in the inviolable obſervance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, repreſented that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilſt that kingdom was making preparations to declare war againſt Rome as ſoon as poſſible. He concluded, that it was neceſſary to leave things in their preſent condition, till time ſhould explain whether their fears were juſt or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-eſtabliſh commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who ſpoke after Callicrates, did his utmoſt to prove, that ſuch terrors were without foundation; that the queſtion was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perſeus, and much leſs to break with the Romans, but ſolely to reverſe a decree, for which the injuſtice of Philip might have given room, but which Perſeus, who had no ſhare in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deſerving. That that prince could not but be aſſured, that in caſe of a war againſt the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilſt the "peace ſubſiſts, if animoſities and diſſenſions are not made "to ceaſe entirely, it is at leaſt reaſonable to ſuſpend them, "and to let them ſleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this aſſembly. As it was taken amiſs that the king had contented himſelf with only ſending them a letter; he afterwards ſent ambaſſadors to the aſſembly which had been ſummoned to Megalopolis. But thoſe who appre-

apprehended giving Rome offence, uſed ſuch effectual means, that they were refuſed audience.

The ambaſſadors *(d)*, ſent by the ſenate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get acceſs to the king, upon pretence that he was ſometimes abroad, and ſometimes indiſpoſed; a double evaſion equally falſe. That for the reſt, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reaſonable to expect it would ſpeedily break out. They gave an account alſo of the ſtate in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domeſtick diviſions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vaſt diſorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeaſing the perſons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongſt the Romans always preceded declarations of war, that is to ſay, by expiation of prodigies, and various ſacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambaſſadors whom the ſenate had ſent into Greece. After having appeaſed as much as poſſible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponneſus, where he cauſed the aſſembly of the Achæans to be ſummoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having conſtantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perſeus.

That prince inceſſantly ſolicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embaſſies and magnificent promiſes, far exceeding his power to perform. They were ſufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great ſervices to moſt of thoſe cities; and thoſe of his own dominions would not have changed condition with ſuch as were entirely free. There was, however, no compariſon between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perſeus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accuſed of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whoſe aid he had uſed in deſtroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himſelf amiable by his tenderneſs for his brothers and relations; by his juſtice in governing his ſubjects; and by his generous propenſity to do good, and to ſerve others. Not-

(d) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

withſtanding this difference of character, they gave Perſeus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inſpired them with contempt for a ſtate whoſe origin was wholly recent, and which they had ſeen take birth; or that the Greeks had ſome change in view; or becauſe they were pleaſed with having ſome ſupport in him to hold the Romans in reſpect.

Perſeus *(e)* was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of ſeparating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to ſhare the Macedonian throne with Perſeus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perſeus had furniſhed the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every ſoldier and ſeaman who came with Laodice. A ſentence paſſed by Rome in favour of the Lycians againſt the people of Rhodes, had extremely exaſperated the latter. Perſeus endeavoured to take the advantage of their reſentment againſt Rome, to attach them to himſelf.

The *(f)* Romans were not ignorant of the meaſures taken by Perſeus to bring over the ſtates of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expreſsly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. He declared, that beſides his deſire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an eſtabliſhment which left him nothing to wiſh, he had undertaken this voyage expreſsly, to adviſe the ſenate in perſon to be upon their guard againſt the enterprizes of Perſeus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of ſucceſſion. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, ſupplied him with the means of raiſing numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himſelf, in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had ſince much exerciſed himſelf in different enterprizes againſt his neighbours. That he was highly conſidered by the cities of Greece and Aſia; without ſeeming to have any ſort of merit to ſupport ſuch credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had eſpouſed the daughter of Seleucus, and given

(e) Polyb. Legat. lx, lxi. Liv. l. xlii. n. 82—14. *(f)* A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

given his ſiſter in marriage to Pruſias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his intereſt, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the oppoſition of a few perſons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perſeus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domeſtick troubles, and not to the Romans. That ſupported by theſe powerful allies, he made ſuch preparations of war himſelf, as put him into a condition to diſpenſe with any foreign aid. That he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horſe, and proviſions for ten years. That beſides his immenſe annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning thoſe of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arſenals a ſufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, tho' Macedonia ſhould be incapable of ſupplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon ſimple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the beſt information. "For "the reſt," ſaid he, in concluding, "having diſcharged the "duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people "made indiſpenſable, and delivered my conſcience, it only "remains for me to implore all the gods and goddeſſes, "that they would inſpire you with ſentiments and meaſures "conſiſtent with the glory of your empire, and the preſerva-"tion of your friends and allies, whoſe ſafety depends upon "yours."

The ſenators were much affected with this diſcourſe. Nothing that paſſed in the ſenate, except that king Eumenes had ſpoke, was known abroad, or ſuffered to take air at firſt; ſo inviolably were the deliberations of that auguſt aſſembly kept ſecret.

The ambaſſadors from king Perſeus had audience ſome days after. They found the ſenate highly prejudiced againſt their maſter, and what Harpalus, one of them, ſaid in his ſpeech, enflamed them ſtill more againſt him. It was, that Perſeus deſired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor ſaid any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the reſt, if he diſcovered that they were obſtinately bent upon a rupture with him, he ſhould know how to defend himſelf with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Aſia, anxious for the effect which theſe embaſſies might produce at Rome, had alſo ſent deputies thither under different pretexts, eſpecially the Rhodians, who ſuſpected that Eumenes had joined them in his accuſation againſt Perſeus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently againſt Eumenes, reproaching him with having ſtirred up Lycia againſt the Rhodians, and of having rendered himſelf more inſupportable to Aſia, than Antiochus himſelf. This diſcourſe was very agreeable to the Aſiatick people, who ſecretly favoured Perſeus, but very much diſpleaſed the ſenate, and had no other effect than to make them ſuſpect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher conſideration, from this kind of conſpiracy which they ſaw formed againſt him. He was diſmiſſed in conſequence with the higheſt honours, and great preſents.

Harpalus, *(g)* having returned into Macedonia with the utmoſt diligence, reported to Perſeus, that he had left the Romans in a diſpoſition not to defer a long declaration of the war againſt him. The king was not ſorry upon that account, believing himſelf in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to ſupport it with ſucceſs. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he ſuſpected that Rome had been appriſed of his moſt ſecret meaſures, and began with declaring againſt him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the moſt criminal treachery. He diſpatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occaſions, to aſſaſſinate that prince. Perſeus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his aſſaſſins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whoſe houſe he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambuſh in a narrow defile, where two men could not paſs abreaſt. When the king came there, the aſſaſſins rolled two great ſtones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without ſenſe, and the other wounded him conſiderably in the ſhoulder; after which they poured an hail of leſſer ſtones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who ſtaid to aſſiſt him. The aſſaſſins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnaſſus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almoſt without life. When he came a little to himſelf, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the iſland of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds,

(g) Liv. l. xlii. n. 15—12.

wounds, but with ſo much ſecrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reaſon to believe him dead. That report ſpread even to Aſia. Attalus gave credit to it too ſoon for a good brother, and looking upon himſelf already as king, was preparing to eſpouſe the widow. Eumenes, at their firſt interview, could not forbear making him ſome gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at firſt reſolved to diſſemble his ſenſe of his brother's imprudence.

Perſeus had attempted at the ſame time to poiſon him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brunduſium, who received in his houſe all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who paſſed through that city. The king put into his hands a very ſubtle poiſon, for him to give Eumenes, when he ſhould come to his houſe. Rammius did not dare to refuſe his commiſſion, whatever horror he had for it, leſt the king ſhould make a trial of the draught upon himſelf; but he ſet out with a full reſolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embaſſy into Macedonia, he went to him, diſcovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius alſo carried Praxo thither along with him, at whoſe houſe the aſſaſſins had lodged in Delphos. When the ſenate had heard theſe two witneſſes, after ſuch black attempts, they thought it unneceſſary to deliberate longer upon declaring war againſt a prince, who made uſe of aſſaſſinations and poiſon to rid himſelf of his enemies, and proceeded to take due meaſures for the ſucceſs of ſo important an enterprize.

Two ambaſſadors, who arrived at Rome about the ſame time, gave the ſenate great pleaſure. The firſt came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He ſent the ſon, whom he intended for his ſucceſſor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earlieſt infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himſelf in the great art of reigning, by the converſation and ſtudy of their great men; and he deſired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of diſtinction that could be ſhewn him, and the ſenate cauſed a commodious houſe to be provided for him at the expence of the publick. The other embaſſy was from the Thracians, who deſired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As ſoon as Eumenes *(b)* was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himſelf in making prepara-

(b) Liv. l. xlii, n. 25—27.

parations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had eſcaped, and diſpatched others at the ſame time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They ſent alſo to Perſeus to make their complaints, and to demand ſatisfaction. Theſe ambaſſadors, ſeeing they could not have audience for many days, ſet out in order to return to Rome. The king cauſed them to be recalled. They repreſented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that he ſhould not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that reſtitution ſhould be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with inſupportable haughtineſs, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their ſlaves. Upon their demanding a poſitive anſwer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The ſubſtance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not becauſe he approved it, but becauſe he could do no otherwiſe, not being ſufficiently eſtabliſhed upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propoſe reaſonable conditions, he ſhould conſult what it was neceſſary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambaſſadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they ſhould take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the reſult of their embaſſy; and added, that they had obſerved, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they paſſed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambaſſadors that had been ſent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Aſia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that ſhould be deſired of them. The ſenate would not grant audience to the ambaſſadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accuſed of holding intelligence with Perſeus; and deferred hearing thoſe from the Rhodians, who had alſo rendered themſelves ſuſpected, till the new

new conſuls entered upon their office. However, not to loſe time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Craſſus and C. Caſſius Longinus, were elected conſuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Aſia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred againſt Perſeus, and ſtill more by the new crime, which had almoſt coſt him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Pruſias, king of Bithynia, had reſolved to ſtand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himſelf, that the Romans would not inſiſt upon his taking up arms againſt his wife's brother, and hoped if Perſeus were victorious, that prince would eaſily acquieſce in his neutrality at the requeſt of his ſiſter.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, beſides having promiſed to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes eſpouſed, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt, relying upon the weakneſs of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of thoſe who had the care of his perſon and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plauſible pretext for making war upon that prince, by diſputing Cœloſyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obſtruct his ambitious deſires. He had, however, declared to the ſenate by his ambaſſadors, that they might diſpoſe of all his forces, and had repeated the ſame promiſe to the ambaſſadors the Romans had ſent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to reſolve for himſelf. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœloſyria, and promiſed to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Maſiniſſa ſupplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to ſend his ſon Miſagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impoſſible to execute that project, becauſe they would never ſuffer him to ruin the Cartha-

thaginians entirely; in which caſe he ſhould continue in his preſent condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conqueſts, and at that time ſupported Carthage, ſhould happen to be reduced, he expected, in conſequence, to make himſelf maſter of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himſelf much ſuſpected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he ſhould chuſe; and it ſeemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular object.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odryſæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the diſpoſition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the ſtates and free cities, the populace were univerſally inclined in favour of Perſeus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the perſons in authority amongſt thoſe people were divided into three claſſes. Some of them abandoned themſelves ſo abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they loſt all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of theſe, few concerned themſelves about the juſtice of the Roman government: moſt of them having no views but to their private intereſt, convinced that their power in their cities would ſubſiſt in proportion to the ſervices they ſhould render the Romans. The ſecond claſs was of thoſe, who gave entirely into the king's meaſures; ſome, becauſe their debts, and the bad eſtate of their affairs, made them deſire a change; others, becauſe the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perſeus valued himſelf, agreed beſt with their own little pride and vanity. A third claſs, which were the moſt prudent and judicious, if it were abſolutely neceſſary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been beſt ſatisfied, that neither of the parties ſhould become too powerful by reducing the other; and preſerving a kind of equality and balance, ſhould always continue in peace: becauſe then, one of them, by taking the weaker ſtates under its protection, whenever the other ſhould attempt to oppreſs them, would render the condition of them all more happy and ſecure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they ſaw, as from a place of ſafety, the battles and dangers of thoſe who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable cuſtom, diſcharged all the duties of religion, offered ſolemn prayers and ſacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the hap-

happy ſucceſs of the enterprize they had been ſo long preparing for, declared war in form againſt Perſeus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate ſatisfaction in regard to the ſeveral grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the ſame time arrived ambaſſadors from him, who ſaid, that the king their maſter was much amazed at their having made troops ente. Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the ſenate all the ſatisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perſeus ſought only to gain time, they were anſwered that the conſul Licinius would be in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king deſired peace in earneſt, he might ſend his ambaſſadors to him, but that he need not give himſelf the trouble of ſending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themſelves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans *(i)* omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of their arms. They diſpatched ambaſſadors on all ſides to their allies, to animate and confirm thoſe who perſiſted to adhere to them, to determine ſuch as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate thoſe who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilſt they were at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, ambaſſadors arrived there from Perſeus, who had orders to addreſs themſelves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambaſſadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendſhip his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their maſter. Marcius anſwered, that his father had often ſpoke of king Philip's friendſhip and hoſpitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither ſome days after. The king had a great train, and was ſurrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambaſſadors were no leſs attended; many of the citizens of Lariſſa, and of the deputies from other ſtates, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleaſed with that occaſion of carrying home what they ſhould ſee and hear. They had beſides a curioſity to be preſent at an interview between a great king and the ambaſſadors of the moſt powerful people in the world.

After ſome difficulties which aroſe about the ceremonial, and were ſoon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly reſpectful on both ſides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the ſacred ties of hoſpi-

(i) Liv. l. xlii. n. 37—44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

hoſpitality. Marcius, who ſpoke firſt, began by excuſing himſelf for the unhappy neceſſity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the higheſt conſideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the cauſes of complaint the Roman people had againſt him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He inſiſted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with profeſſing, that he ſhould be very glad the king would ſupply him with good reaſons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cauſe, and juſtify him before the ſenate.

Perſeus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he ſeemed aſtoniſhed that any one ſhould preſume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to ſo many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long diſcourſe, and replied, in the beſt manner poſſible, to the ſeveral heads of the accuſation againſt him. "Of this I am "* aſſured," ſaid he in concluding, "that my conſcience "does not reproach me with having committed any fault "knowingly, and with premeditated deſign, againſt the "Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized "as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have cer-"tainly acted nothing to deſerve the implacable enmity with "which I am purſued, as guilty of the blackeſt and moſt "enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor for-"given. It muſt be without foundation, that the clemency "and wiſdom of the Roman people is univerſally extolled, if "for ſuch ſlight cauſes, as ſcarce merit complaint and remon-"ſtrance, they take up arms, and make war upon kings in "alliance with them."

The reſult of this conference was, that Perſeus ſhould ſend new ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to try all poſſible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a ſnare laid by the artful commiſſioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at firſt great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perſeus, for time to ſend his ambaſſadors to Rome, and ſeemed at laſt to give into it only out of conſideration for the king. The true reaſon was, becauſe the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the ſide of Perſeus, every thing was ready;

* Conſcius mihi ſum, nihil me ſcientem deliquiſſe; & ſi quid fecerim imprudentia lapſus, corrige me & emendari caſtigatione hac poſſe. Nihil certe inſanabile, nec quod bello & armis perſequendum eſſe cenſeatis, commiſi; aut fruſtra clementiæ gravitatiſque veſtræ fama vulgata per gentes eſt, ſi talibus de cauſis quæ vix querela & expoſtulatione dignæ ſunt, arma capitis, & regibus ſociis bella infertis. *Liv.*

dy; and if he had not been amuſed by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture ſo favourable for himſelf, and ſo contrary for his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambaſſadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; ſome declaring for Perſeus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the conſent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient cuſtom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having raſhly engaged in the party of Perſeus, after having formed through a long courſe of time a republick, which on ſeveral occaſions had preſerved itſelf from the greateſt dangers, ſaw themſelves ſeparated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the ſequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at firſt. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much eaſier to bring them into their meaſures, and ſubject them by that means, than if their union ſubſiſted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, perſiſted in the alliance with Perſeus.

From Bœotia the commiſſioners went into Peloponneſus. The aſſembly of the Achæan league was ſummoned to Argos. They demanded only a thouſand men to garriſon Chalcis, till the Roman army ſhould enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the ſame time Rome ſent *(k)* new commiſſioners into the moſt conſiderable iſlands of Aſia, to exhort them to ſend powerful aid into the field againſt Perſeus. The Rhodians ſignalized themſelves upon this occaſion. Hegeſilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magiſtrate was ſo called) had prepared the people, by repreſenting to them, that it was neceſſary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impreſſions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inſpire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambaſſadors, they ſhewed them a fleet of forty ſhips entirely equipped, and ready to ſail upon the firſt orders. This agreeable ſurprize was highly pleaſing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly ſatisfied with

(k) Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.—lxviii.

with ſo diſtinguiſhed a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perſeus, in conſequence of his interview with Marcius, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been propoſed in that conference. He diſpatched other ambaſſadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had paſſed in the interview, and deduced at large the reaſons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as ſpectators, only till they ſaw what reſolutions the Romans would take.——"If, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting "between us, they attack me, you will be (ſaid he) the me-"diators between the two nations. All the world is intereſt-"ed in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none "more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defen-"ders, not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece; "the more zeal and ardour you have for ſo great a good, the "more ought you to be upon your guard againſt whomſoever "ſhould attempt to inſpire you with different ſentiments. "You cannot but know, that the certain means * to reduce "Greece into ſlavery, is to make it dependent upon one peo-"ple only, without leaving it any other to have recourſe to." The ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect; but were anſwered, That in caſe of war. the king was deſired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The ſame ambaſſadors went alſo into Bœotia, where they had almoſt as little reaſon to be ſatisfied; only a few ſmall *(l)* cities ſeparating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the ſenate the ſucceſs of their commiſſion. They dwelt particularly upon the addreſs of their ſtratagem to deceive Perſeus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their ſucceſs in diſſolving the general aſſembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common conſent.

The

(l) Coronæa and Haliartus.

* Cum cæterorum id intereſſe, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ ſerva atque obnoxia fore, ſi nullus alio ſit quam ad Romanos reſpectus. *Liv.*

The greateſt part of the ſenate expreſſed great ſatisfaction in ſo wiſe a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old ſenators, who had imbibed other principles, and perſevered in their ancient maxims, ſaid, They did not ſee the Roman character ſuſtained in ſuch dealing. That their anceſtors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, uſed to make war openly, and not in diſguiſe and under cover; that ſuch unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That, indeed, ſtratagem ſometimes, in the moment of action, ſeemed to ſucceed better than valour; but that a victory obtained vigorouſly in a battle, where the force of the troops on each ſide was tried as near as poſſible, and which the enemy could not aſcribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more laſting effect, becauſe it left a ſtrong conviction of the victor's ſuperior force and bravery.

Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances of the ancient ſenators, who could not reliſh theſe new maxims of policy, that part of the ſenate which preferred the uſeful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occaſion, and the conduct of the two commiſſioners was approved. Marcius was ſent again with ſome gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he ſhould think moſt conſiſtent with the ſervice of the public, and Atilius into Theſſaly, to take poſſeſſion of Lariſſa, leſt, upon the expiration of the truce, Perſeus ſhould make himſelf maſter of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was alſo ſent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perſeus was reſolved at Rome, the ſenate gave audience to his ambaſſadors. They repeated the ſame things which had been ſaid in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to juſtify their maſter principally upon the attempt he was accuſed of having made on the perſon of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the ſenate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The conſul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as ſoon as poſſible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, ſet out with five-and-forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The conſul* LICINIUS *and king* PERSEUS *take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at ſome diſtance from each other. Fight of the horſe, in which* PERSEUS *has conſiderably the advantage, and makes an ill uſe of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both ſides go into winter-quarters.*

(m) THE conſul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, ſet out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the cuſtom. The departure of the conſuls, ſays Livy, was always attended with great ſolemnity, and an incredible concourſe of people, eſpecially upon an important war, and againſt a powerful enemy. Beſides the intereſt every particular might have in the glory of the conſul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curioſity to ſee the general, to whoſe prudence and valour the fate of the republick was confided. A thouſand anxious thoughts preſented themſelves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wiſdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal," ſaid they, "can know the fate of a conſul at his departure; whether we "ſhall ſee him with his victorious army return in triumph to "the Capitol, from whence he ſets out, after having offered "up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may "not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himſelf famous by his wars, and particularly by that againſt the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perſeus; and every body knew, that from his ſucceſſion to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of ſuch thoughts, the citizens conducted the conſul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been conſuls, did not think it below them to ſerve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The conſul repaired in their company to Brunduſium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and paſſing the ſea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perſeus, ſome days before, upon the return of his ambaſſadors from Rome, and their aſſuring him, that there remained

(m) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171.

ed no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it neceſſary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans inſiſted upon it; in a word, to ſuffer every thing ſupportable for the ſake of peace, rather than expoſe his perſon and kingdom to the danger of entire deſtruction. That, if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had loſt, but to render him formidable to thoſe who at preſent made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They inſiſted, that by making ceſſion of a part, he muſt determine to loſe all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor land that incited the ambition of the Romans, but univerſal empire. That they knew the greateſt kingdoms and moſt powerful empires were ſubject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking poſſeſſion of its territories; contenting themſelves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Maſiniſſa. That they had driven Antiochus and his ſon beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head againſt the Romans. That prudence required Perſeus, whilſt he was ſtill maſter of it, ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, whether by making the Romans ſometimes one conceſſion, and ſometimes another, he was reſolved to ſee himſelf deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to aſk, as a favour of the Romans, permiſſion to retire, and confine himſelf in Samothracia, or ſome other iſland, there to paſs the reſt of his days in contempt and miſery, with the mortification of ſurviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chuſe to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in caſe of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the univerſe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Beſides, was it conſiſtent for Perſeus, after having oppoſed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to uſurp his crown, to reſign it meanly to ſtrangers, that endeavoured to wreſt it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious, than to give up empire without reſiſtance, nor more laudable, than to have uſed all poſſible endeavours to preſerve it.

This

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it ſo neceſſary*, ſaid the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods*. He gave orders at the ſame time to his generals, to aſſemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went ſoon after himſelf, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a ſacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army aſſembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thouſand foot, of whom almoſt half compoſed the phalanx, and 4000 horſe. It was agreed, that ſince the army Alexander the Great led into Aſia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one ſo numerous.

It was twenty ſix years ſince Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any conſiderable war, there were in it great numbers of youths capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exerciſe and form themſelves in the wars Macedonia had ſupported againſt the Thracians their neighbours. Philip beſides, and Perſeus after him, had long before formed the deſign of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we ſpeak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perſeus, before he took the field, thought it neceſſary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his ſons on each ſide of him, ſpoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to reſolve to take up arms againſt them; but that deſign a ſudden death prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that preſently after the death of Philip, the Romans had ſent ambaſſadors to him, and at the ſame time marched troops into Greece, to take poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amuſed him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the ſpecious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the conſul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his ſenſe, was much ſuperior to the other, not only in the number and valour of their troops, but in ammunition and proviſions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains, therefore, Macedonians," ſaid he, in concluding, "only to act with the ſame courage your anceſtors ſhewed "when, having triumphed over all Europe, they croſſed into "Aſia,

"Aſia, and ſet no other bounds to their conqueſts, than thoſe "of the univerſe. You are not now to carry your arms to "the extremities of the Eaſt, but to defend yourſelves in the "poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Ro- "mans attacked my father, they covered that unjuſt war "with the falſe pretence of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient liber- "ty of Greece; the preſent they undertake without any diſ- "guiſe, to reduce and enſlave Macedonia. That haughty "people cannot bear that the Roman empire ſhould have "any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation "ſhould have arms for their defence. For you may be aſ- "ſured, if you refuſe to make war, and will ſubmit to the "orders of thoſe inſulting maſters, that you muſt reſolve to "deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to "them."

At theſe words the whole army, which had expreſſed no immoderate applauſe for the reſt of his diſcourſe, raiſed cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the beſt hopes, and demanding earneſtly to be led againſt the enemy.

Perſeus then gave audience to the ambaſſadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and proviſions for the occaſions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindeſt manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reaſon, that the army was abundantly provided with all things neceſſary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after ſome days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city ſituated at the foot of mount Oeta; the conſul's was at Gomphi in Theſſaly, after having ſurmounted the moſt incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almoſt impracticable. The Romans themſelves confeſſed, that had the enemy defended thoſe paſſes, they might eaſily have deſtroyed their whole army in them. The conſul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the ſame time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus; Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the conſul with four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. They had left Athenæus with two thouſand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garriſon of that important place.

The allies ſent alſo other troops, though in numbers ſufficiently inconſiderable, and ſome gallies. Perſeus, in the mean time, ſent out ſeveral detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the conſul ſhould quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might ſurprize and attack him to advantage; but he was diſappointed, and obliged to content himſelf with diſtributing the booty he had made amongſt his ſoldiers, which was very conſiderable, and conſiſted principally in cattle of all ſorts.

The conſul and king held each of them a council at the ſame time, in order to reſolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been ſuffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without oppoſition, thought it adviſeable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loſs of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their ſlowneſs and delays would diſcredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themſelves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilſt they were conſulting upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being preſent) a courier came in upon the ſpur, and informed them the enemy were very near him with a numerous army. The ſignal was immediately given for the ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms, and an hundred horſe detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perſeus, at ten in the morning, finding himſelf no farther from the Roman camp than a ſmall half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horſe and light armed ſoldiers. He had ſcarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, againſt which he ſent a ſmall detachment of horſe, ſupported by ſome light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither ſide ſent any freſh troops to their aid, the ſkirmiſh ended without its being poſſible to ſay which ſide was victorious. Perſeus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the ſame hour, Perſeus advanced with all his troops to the ſame place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within ſix leagues of the place, the way was very duſty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping cloſe in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned

to

to their camp. They did the ſame ſeveral days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horſe and light-armed foot were very much ſuperior to thoſe of the Romans, they aſſured themſelves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The firſt deſign not ſucceeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the ſame place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thouſand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The duſt which flew nearer than uſual, and was raiſed by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the firſt who brought the news could ſcarce find belief that the enemy was ſo near; becauſe for ſeveral days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the ſun at that time was juſt riſing. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confuſion. All the officers repaired with the utmoſt haſte to the general's tent, as the ſoldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the conſul, ſo ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whoſe nearneſs to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perſeus had drawn up his troops at leſs than five hundred paces from the conſul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odryſæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horſe of his nation; the light-armed troops were diſtributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horſe formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horſe and thoſe of the auxiliaries were poſted. The king kept the center with the horſe that always attended his perſon; before whom were placed the ſlingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The conſul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which conſiſted of all the Italian horſe, was commanded by C. Licinius Craſſus, the conſul's brother; the left, compoſed of the horſe of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was poſted in the center,

with a ſelect body of horſe; two hundred Gallick horſe, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Theſſalian horſe were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reſerved body. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were poſted in the ſpace between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almoſt equal on both ſides, and might amount to about 4000 on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the ſlings and miſſive-weapons, which were poſted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beaſts long ſhut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themſelves firſt upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not ſupport ſo rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongſt them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their ſwords, ſometimes cutting the legs of the horſes, and ſometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perſeus, who attacked the center of the enemy, ſoon put the Greeks into diſorder; and as they were vigorouſly purſued in their flight, the Theſſalian horſe, which, at a ſmall diſtance from the left wing, formed a body of reſerve, and in the beginning of the action had been only ſpectators of the battle, was of great ſervice, when that wing gave way. For thoſe horſe, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a ſafe retreat between their ranks to thoſe who fled and were diſperſed; and when they ſaw the enemy was not warm in their purſuit, were ſo bold as to advance to ſuſtain and encourage their own party. As this body of horſe marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the purſuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Happias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorouſly puſhing the enemy, and charging them in their entrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the leaſt effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the preſent ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter muſt have been entirely defeated. Whilſt he was deliberating with himſelf, be-

tween

tween hope and fear, upon what he ſhould reſolve, Evander * of Crete, in whom he repoſed great confidence, upon ſeeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perſeus, and earneſtly begged of him not to abandon himſelf to his preſent ſucceſs, nor engage raſhly in a new action, that was not neceſſary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He repreſented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himſelf with the preſent advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he ſhould chuſe to continue the war, his firſt ſucceſs would infallibly determine thoſe, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praiſed the counſel and zeal of Evander, he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded for his horſe, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans loſt 2000 of their light-armed infantry, at leaſt, in this battle, and had 200 of their horſe killed, and as many taken priſoners. On the other ſide, only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot-ſoldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; eſpecially the Thracians, who with ſongs of triumph carried the heads of thoſe they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perſeus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound ſorrow kept a mournful ſilence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other ſide of the Peneus, in order that the river might ſerve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The conſul was averſe to the taking that ſtep, which, as an open profeſſion of fear, was highly diſhonourable to himſelf and his army; but, however, being convinced by reaſon, he yielded to neceſſity, paſſed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perſeus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he ſaw them intrenched on the other ſide of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not purſuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confeſſed it a ſtill greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without putting the reſt of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy,

* *Perſeus made uſe of him in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes.*

during their confuſion and diſorder in paſſing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at leaſt part of their army.

We ſee here, in a ſenſible example, to what cauſes revolutions of ſtates, and the fall of the greateſt empires, owe their being. There is no reader but muſt have been ſurprized at ſeeing Perſeus ſtop ſhort in a deciſive moment, and let ſlip an almoſt certain occaſion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to diſtinguiſh ſo groſs a fault. But how came it to paſs, that Perſeus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, ſhould be ſo much miſtaken? A notion is ſuggeſted to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, raſh, and abſurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the deſtruction of Macedonia, ſuffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breaſt, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take contrary meaſures. Nor is that ſufficient. The firſt fault might have been eaſily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God ſeems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound ſleep. Not one of his officers has the leaſt thought of obſerving the motions of the enemy in the night. We ſee nothing but what is natural in all this: but the holy ſcripture teaches us to think otherwiſe, and what was ſaid of Saul's ſoldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man ſaw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: For they were all aſleep, becauſe a deep ſleep from the Lord was fallen upon them.* 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, ſaw themſelves no longer in danger of being ſuddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given to the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the ſharpeſt affliction. All who were preſent in the council of war aſſembled by the conſul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was ſaid, that they were the firſt who took the alarm and fled; that the reſt of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the firſt who took to flight. The Theſſalians, on the contrary, were praiſed for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with ſeveral marks of honour.

The ſpoils taken from the Romans were not inconſiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuiraſſes, and a much greater number of helmets, ſwords, and darts, of all kinds. The king made great preſents of them to the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt; and having aſſembled the army,

ary, he began by telling them, That what had happened was an happy preſage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horſe, in which the principal force of their army conſiſted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promiſed himſelf from thence a more conſiderable ſucceſs over their infantry, who had only eſcaped their ſwords by a ſhameful flight during the night; but that it would be eaſy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them ſhut up. The victorious ſoldiers, who carried the ſpoils of the enemies they had ſlain upon their ſhoulders, heard this diſcourſe with ſenſible pleaſure, and promiſed themſelves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the paſt. The foot, on their ſide, eſpecially that which compoſed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealouſy, pretended at leaſt to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the firſt occaſion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and paſſion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſet forward the next day, paſſed the river, and encamped at Mopſium, an eminence ſituate between Tempe and Lariſſa.

The joy for the good ſucceſs of ſo important a battle affected Perſeus at firſt in all its extent. He looked upon himſelf as ſuperior to a people, who alone were ſo in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by ſurprize, and in a manner ſtolen by ſtratagem and addreſs, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own ſight, and under his own conduct. He had ſeen the Roman haughtineſs give way before him three times in one day; at firſt in keeping cloſe, out of fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in ſhamefully betaking themſelves to flight; and, laſtly, by flying again, during the obſcurity of the night, and in finding no other ſecurity, but by being encloſed within their intrenchments, the uſual refuge of terror and apprehenſion. Theſe thoughts were highly ſoothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his firſt tranſports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of ſudden joy was ſomewhat evaporated, Perſeus came to himſelf, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the conſequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in ſome ſort of terror. The wiſeſt of the courtiers about

him, *(n)* taking advantage of ſo happy a diſpoſition, ventured to give him the council of which it made him capable; this was, to make the beſt of his late ſucceſs, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They repreſented to him, that the moſt certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the preſent favours of fortune, nor abandon himſelf to the deluſive glitter of proſperity. That therefore he would do well to ſend to the conſul, and propoſe a renovation of the treaty, upon the ſame conditions impoſed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more glorioufly for himſelf, than after ſo memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occaſion of concluding a ſure and laſting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithſtanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, ſhould reject a juſt and equitable accommodation, he would at leaſt have the conſolation of having the gods and men for witneſſes of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciouſneſs of the Romans.

The king gave in to theſe wiſe remonſtrances, to which he ever was averſe. The majority of the council alſo applauded them. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to the conſul, who gave them audience in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly. They told him, they came to demand peace; that Perſeus would pay the ſame tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew the council deliberated upon the anſwer it was proper to make. The Roman conſtancy ſhewed itſelf upon this occaſion in an extraordinary manner. It was the cuſtom * at that time to expreſs in adverſity all the aſſurance and loftineſs of good fortune, and to act with moderation in proſperity. The anſwer was, That no peace could be granted to Perſeus, unleſs he ſubmitted himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the ſenate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were ſtrangely ſurprized at ſo extraordinary, and, in their ſenſe, ſo ill-timed a pride; moſt of them believed it needleſs to talk any farther of peace, and hat the Romans would be ſoon reduced to demand what they now refuſed. Perſeus was not of the ſame opinion. He judged

* Ita tum mos erat in adverſis vultum ſecundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari nimos in ſecundis. *Liv.*

(n) Polyb. Legat. lxix.

judged rightly, that Rome was not ſo haughty, but from a conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He ſent again to the conſul, and offered a more conſiderable tribute than had been impoſed upon Philip. When he ſaw the conſul would retract nothing from his firſt anſwer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perſeus, that he muſt have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his ſtrength and reſources with thoſe of the Romans. To believe himſelf happy, and after a ſignal victory to demand peace, and ſubmit to more oppreſſive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, ſeems to argue, that he had taken his meaſures, and concerted the means to ſucceſs very ill, ſince after a firſt action entirely to his advantage, he begins to diſcover all his weakneſs and inferiority, and in ſome ſort inclines to deſpair. Why then was he the firſt to break the peace? Why was he the aggreſſor? Why was he in ſuch haſte? Was it to ſtop ſhort at the firſt ſtep? How came he not to know his weakneſs, till his own victory ſhewed it him? Theſe are not the ſigns of a wiſe and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which ſoon ſpread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and diſcovered in full light to which ſide they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by moſt of thoſe the Romans had obliged, of whom, ſome ſuffered with pain their haughty manners, and inſolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the ſame time beſieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia *(o)*. After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at laſt by ſtorm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demoliſhed. Thebes ſoon after ſurrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perſeus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; haraſſing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thouſand carriages, laden principally with ſheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made ſix hundred priſoners. He afterwards attacked a ſmall body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himſelf maſter

(o) Liv. l. xlii. n. 64—67.

with little or no difficulty; but he found more reſiſtance than he had imagined. That ſmall body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himſelf there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than ſurrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the conſul arrived to his aſſiſtance with a great detachment of horſe and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The ſight of the conſul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perſeus immediately ſent for his phalanx; but the conſul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous reſiſtance for ſome time, were at laſt broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the beſt horſe, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himſelf, Antimachus, was killed.

The ſucceſs of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perſeus. After having put a ſtrong garriſon into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia

The conſul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Lariſſa and ſome other cities, diſmiſſed all the allies, except the Achæans; diſperſed his troops in Theſſaly, where he left them in winter quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the requeſt of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incurſions.

SECT. III. *The ſenate paſs a wiſe decree to put a ſtop to the avarice of the generals and magiſtrates, who oppreſſed the allies. The conſul* MARCIUS, *after ſuſtaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia.* PERSEUS *takes the alarm and leaves the paſſes open: he reſumes courage afterwards. Inſolent embaſſy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

NOTHING memorable paſſed the following year (*p*). The conſul Hoſtilius had ſent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with 4000 foot, to defend ſuch of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thouſand men, raiſed amongſt the allies, to his firſt body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Daſſaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uſcana, which belonged to Perſeus, and where he had a great garriſon. Claudius, upon the promiſe which had

(*p*) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it, with almoſt all his troops, without any order, diſtruſt, or precaution. Whilſt he thought leaſt of it, the garriſon made a furious ſally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and purſued them a great way with dreadful ſlaughter. Of 11,000 men, ſcarce 2000 eſcaped into the camp, which a thouſand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loſs very much afflicted the ſenate, and the more becauſe it had been occaſioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was (q) the almoſt univerſal diſeaſe of the commanders at that time. The ſenate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, againſt the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciouſneſs and cruelty. They puniſhed ſome of them, redreſſed the wrongs they had done the cities, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors well ſatisfied with the manner in which their remonſtrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent ſuch diſorders for the future, they paſſed a decree, which expreſſed, that the cities ſhould not furniſh the Roman magiſtrates with any thing more than what the ſenate expreſsly appointed; which ordinance was publiſhed in all the cities of Peloponneſus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commiſſion, went firſt to Thebes, where they very much praiſed the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponneſus, they boaſted every where of the lenity and moderation of the ſenate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great diviſions in almoſt all the cities, eſpecially amongſt the Ætolians, occaſioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The aſſembly of Achaia was not exempt from theſe diviſions; but the wiſdom of the perſons of greateſt authority prevented their conſequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal perſons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers againſt the republick, and to avoid the misfortunes into which thoſe were fallen, who had not ſufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was reſolved,

(q) Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

that Archon ſhould be made chief magiſtrate, and Polybius captain general of the horſe.

About this time Attalus having ſomething to demand of the Achæan league, cauſed the new magiſtrate to be founded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promiſed that prince to ſupport his ſuit with all his power. The affair in queſtion was, to have a decree reverſed, by which it was ordained, that all the ſtatues of king Eumenes ſhould be removed from the publick places. At the firſt council that was held, the ambaſſadors of Attalus were introduced to the aſſembly, who demanded, that in conſideration for the prince who ſent them, Eumenes his brother ſhould be reſtored to the honours the republick had formerly decreed him. Archon ſupported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius ſpoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and ſervices of Eumenes, demonſtrated the injuſtice of the firſt decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole aſſembly applauded his diſcourſe, and it was reſolved that Eumenes ſhould be reſtored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome *(r)* ſent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprizes againſt Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two conſuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he ſet out, Perſeus had conceived the deſign of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition againſt Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reaſon to fear irruptions during the king's being employed againſt the Romans. This expedition ſucceeded very happily for him, and almoſt without any loſs on his ſide. He began with the ſiege of Uſcana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of ſome duration. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of all the ſtrong places in the country, the moſt part of which had Roman garriſons in them, and took a great number of priſoners.

Perſeus, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averſe to it; but he obſerved, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare

(r) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11, & 18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxvi, lxxvii.

clare againſt the Romans; which was explaining himſelf ſufficiently. Perſeus, who was avaricious, did not underſtand, or rather affected not to underſtand, his demand; and ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, without mention of money; and received the ſame anſwer. Polybius obſerves, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean ſoul, and entirely diſhonours a prince, made many of his enterprizes miſcarry, and that if he would have ſacrificed certain ſums, and thoſe far from conſiderable, he might have engaged ſeveral republicks and princes in his party. Can ſuch a blindneſs be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius conſiders it as a puniſhment from the gods.

Perſeus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very ſtrong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would ſurrender it as ſoon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw ſuccours into the place.

Early in the ſpring the conſul Marcius left Rome, and went to Theſſaly, from whence, without loſing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully aſſured, that it was neceſſary to attack Perſeus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report *(s)* that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, to juſtify his country from the ſuſpicions and bad reports that had been propagated againſt it, adviſed the Achæans to paſs a decree, by which it ſhould be ordained, that they ſhould march an army into Theſſaly, and ſhare in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raiſe troops, and to make all the neceſſary preparations. It was afterwards reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the conſul, to acquaint him with the reſolution of the republick, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army ſhould join him. Polybius, our hiſtorian, with ſome others, was charged with this embaſſy. They found the Romans had quitted Theſſaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was neceſſary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of ſpeaking to the conſul, and ſhared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perſeus *(t)*, who did not know what rout the conſul would take, had poſted conſiderable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to paſs. For himſelf,

(s) Polyb. Legat. lxx. *(t)* Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

himſelf, he encamped with the reſt of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much deſign.

Marcius, after long deliberation, reſolved to paſs the foreſt that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to ſurmount, the ways were ſo ſteep and impracticable, and had ſeized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his paſſage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not diſtant above a thouſand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be diſcovered; which very much animated the ſoldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themſelves. Hippias, whom the king had poſted to defend this paſs with a body of 12,000 men, ſeeing the eminence poſſeſſed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the conſul, who advanced with his whole army, haraſſed his troops for two days, and diſtreſſed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with ſafety, or retreat without ſhame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to purſue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldneſs and temerity, and which could not ſucceed without a determinate perſeverance, often crowned in the end with ſucceſs. It is certain, that if the conſul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perſeus, inſtead of ſending freſh troops to ſupport Hippias, the cries of whoſe ſoldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in perſon to attack the enemy, amuſed himſelf with making uſeleſs excurſions with his horſe into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themſelves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horſes laden with the baggage ſinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almoſt every ſtep they took. The elephants eſpecially gave them great trouble: it was neceſſary to find ſome new means for their deſcent in ſuch extremely ſteep places. Having cleared the ſnow on theſe deſcents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, and the diſtance of ſomething more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon thoſe beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the firſt bridge leaving ſome interval, they erected a ſecond, then a third, and ſo on to as many of the ſame kind

as

as were neceſſary. The elephant paſſed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams inſenſibly that ſupported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the ſecond, and all the reſt. It is not eaſy to expreſs the fatigues they underwent in this paſs, the ſoldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, becauſe it was impoſſible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itſelf out of danger.

As the conſul *(u)* ſeemed then to have entirely overcome the greateſt difficulty of his enterprize, Polybius thought this a proper time for preſenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to aſſure him of their reſolution to join him with all their forces, and to ſhare with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good-will in the kindeſt terms, told them, they might ſpare themſelves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would diſpenſe with both; and that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, he had no occaſion for the aid of the allies. After this diſcourſe, Polybius's collegues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the conſul, having received advice that Appius, ſurnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men to be ſent him into Epirus, diſpatched him home, with advice, not to ſuffer his republick to furniſh thoſe troops, or engage in expences entirely unneceſſary, as Appius had no reaſon to demand that aid. It is difficult, ſays the hiſtorian, to diſcover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for ſparing the Achæans, or laying a ſnare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his reſolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the paſſes; ſent * the gilt

(u) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

* *Theſe were the ſtatues of the horſe-ſoldiers killed in paſſing the Granicus, which Alexander had cauſed to be made by Lyſippus, and to be ſet up in Dium.*

gilt ſtatues at Dium on board his fleet, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treaſures, laid up at Pella, ſhould be thrown into the ſea, and all his gallies at Theſſalonica burnt. For himſelf, he returned to Pydna.

The conſul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impoſſible to diſengage himſelf without the enemy's permiſſion. There was no paſſing for him, but by two foreſts; by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Tempe into Theſſaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter further into Macedonia; and both theſe important poſts were poſſeſſed by ſtrong garriſons for the king. So that if Perſeus had only ſtaid ten days without taking fright, it had been impoſſible for the Romans to have entered Theſſaly by Tempe, and the conſul would have had no paſs for proviſions to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by ſuch vaſt precipices, that the eye could ſcarce ſuſtain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this paſs at four ſeveral places, of which the laſt was ſo narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive proviſions by the narrow paſſes of Tempe, nor to get through them, muſt have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which * would have been no leſs difficult, if the gods, ſays Livy, had not deprived Perſeus of prudence and counſel. For in making a foſſe with entrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have abſolutely ſhut them out, and ſtopt them ſhort. But in the blindneſs, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither ſaw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to ſave himſelf, left all the paſſes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The conſul perceived aright, that he owed his ſafety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Lariſſa, to ſeize the poſts bordering upon Tempe, which Perſeus had abandoned, to ſecure a retreat in caſe of accident; and ſent Popilius to take a view of the paſſes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the

* Quod niſi dii mentem regi ademiſſent, ipſum ingentis difficultatis erat. *Liv.*

the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly ſurprized, that the king had abandoned it ſo eaſily. He continued his march, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, almoſt without any reſiſtance. But the farther he advanced, the leſs proviſions he found, and the more the dearth increaſed; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was alſo reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find proviſions in abundance. His quitting Dium ſuggeſted to Perſeus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had loſt by his fear. He repoſſeſſed himſelf therefore of that city, and ſoon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his ſide, beſieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league diſtant from Phila.

Perſeus, having recovered his fright, and reſumed ſpirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treaſures at Pella into the ſea, and burn all his ſhips at Theſſalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might ſoon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, leſs aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the ſea. But his fault was ſoon repaired by divers, who brought up almoſt the whole money from the bottom of the ſea. To reward their ſervices, the king cauſed them all to be put to death ſecretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; ſo much was he aſhamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himſelf, that he could not bear to have any witneſſes or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions paſſed on both ſides by ſea and land, which were neither of much conſequence or importance.

When Polybius *(x)* returned from his embaſſy into Peloponneſus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thouſand men, had been received there. Some time after the council, aſſembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcuſable fault. On the other ſide, it was dangerous to refuſe the Romans the troops they might have occaſion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themſelves in ſo delicate a conjuncture, they had recourſe to the decree of the Roman ſenate

(x) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

ſenate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unleſs an order of the ſenate was annexed to them, which Appius had not ſent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was ſent to Appius, it was neceſſary to inform the conſul of his demand, and to wait for his deciſion upon it. By that means Polybius ſaved the Achæans the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns at leaſt.

In the mean time *(y)* arrived ambaſſadors at Rome, from Pruſias, king of Bithynia, and alſo from the Rhodians, in favour of Perſeus. The former expreſſed themſelves very modeſtly, declaring that Pruſias had conſtantly adhered to the Roman party, and ſhould continue to do ſo during the war; but that having promiſed Perſeus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he deſired, if it were poſſible, that they would grant him that favour, and make ſuch uſe of his mediation as they ſhould think convenient. The language of the Rhodians were very different. After having ſet forth, in a lofty ſtyle, the ſervices they had done the Roman people, and aſcribed to themſelves the greateſt ſhare in the victories they had obtained, and eſpecially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilſt the peace ſubſiſted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perſeus; that they had ſuſpended it againſt their will, and without any ſubject of complaint on the king's part, becauſe it had pleaſed the Romans to engage them on their ſide; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had ſuffered many inconveniencies from it; that their trade by ſea being interrupted, the iſland found itſelf in great ſtraits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages ariſing from commerce; that being no longer able to ſupport ſuch conſiderable loſſes, they had ſent ambaſſadors into Macedonia to king Perſeus to inform him that the Rhodians thought it neceſſary that he ſhould make peace with the Romans, and that they were alſo ſent to Rome to make the ſame declaration; that if either of the parties refuſed to come into ſo reaſonable a propoſal, the Rhodians ſhould know what they had to do.

It is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a diſcourſe was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, all the anſwer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the ſenate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their preſence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part; for they

(y) Liv. l. xliv. n. 14—16.

they pretended to an authority over both thoſe people. Others ſay, the ſenate anſwered in few words: that the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intrigues with Perſeus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people ſhould have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they ſhould know in their turn what they had to do, and ſhould then treat their allies according to their reſpective merits. They made the ambaſſadors, however, the uſual preſents.

The conſul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having ſuffered incredible difficulties in paſſing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wiſe precaution of the prætor, he had ſufficient proviſions for the winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley, for which it was neceſſary to pay their ambaſſadors then at Rome: that it was alſo neceſſary to ſend him clothes for the ſoldiers; that he wanted two hundred horſes, eſpecially from Numidia, becauſe there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All theſe articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Oneſimas, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always adviſed the king to obſerve the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the laſt day of his life, had cauſed his treaty with the Romans to be conſtantly read to him twice every day, he had admoniſhed him to do as much, if not with the ſame regularity, at leaſt from time to time. Not being able to diſſuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himſelf from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witneſs to the reſolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, ſeeing himſelf become ſuſpected, and tacitly conſidered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongſt the Romans, and had been of great ſervice to the conſul. Having made this relation to the ſenate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his ſubſiſtence.

SECT. IV. PAULUS ÆMILIUS *choſen conſul. He ſets out for Macedonia with the prætor* CN. OCTAVIUS, *who commanded the fleet.* PERSEUS *ſolicits aid on all ſides. His avarice loſes him conſiderable allies. The prætor* ANICIUS's *victories in Illyria.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS's *celebrated victory over* PERSEUS, *near the city of Pydna.* PERSEUS *taken with*

with all his children. The command of PAULUS ÆMILIUS *in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the ſenate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS, *during the winter-quarters, viſits the moſt celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feaſt. He marches for Rome. On his way he ſuffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of* PERSEUS. CN. OCTAVIUS *and* L. ANICIUS *have alſo the honour of a triumph decreed them.*

THE time for the comitia (z), or aſſemblies, to elect conſuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom ſo important a choice would fall, and nothing elſe was talked of in all converſations. They were not ſatisfied with the conſuls, who had been employed for three years againſt Perſeus, and had very ill ſuſtained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained againſt his father Philip, who had been obliged to ſue for peace; againſt Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was ſtill more conſiderable, againſt Hannibal, the greateſt general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than ſixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almoſt under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perſeus, and ſome advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehenſion of the Romans. They plainly diſtinguiſhed, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was neceſſary to chuſe a general for his wiſdom, valour, and experience, in a word, one capable of preſiding in ſo important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world caſt their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when diſtinguiſhed merit unites the voices of the publick; and nothing is more affecting than ſuch a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's paſt ſervices, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the ſtate's preſſing occaſion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near ſixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the leaſt, had rather improved them with maturity of wiſdom and judgment; more neceſſary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been conſul thirteen years before,

(z) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

fore, and had acquired the general eſteem during his adminiſtration. But the people repaid his ſervices with ingratitude, having refuſed to raiſe him again to the ſame dignity, though he had ſolicited it with ſufficient ardour. For ſeveral years he had led a private and retired life, ſolely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever ſucceeded better, nor was more glorioufly rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made inſtances to him to comply with the people's wiſhes, in taking upon him the conſulſhip: but believing himſelf no longer capable, of commanding, he avoided appearing in publick, kept himſelf at home, and ſhunned honours with as much ſolicitnde as others generally purſue them. However, when he ſaw the people aſſemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they ſummoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly againſt his obſtinate refuſal to ſerve his country, he gave in at laſt to their remonſtrances, and appearing amongſt thoſe who aſpired to that dignity, he ſeemed leſs to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the aſſurance of an approaching and complete victory. The conſulſhip was conferred upon him unanimouſly, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his collegue, though Livy ſays it fell to him by lot.

It is ſaid, that the day he was elected general in the war againſt Perſeus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on ſeeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and aſked her the cauſe of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You do not know then*, ſaid ſhe, *that our Perſeus is dead, pappa.* She ſpoke of a little dog ſhe had brought up, called *Perſeus. And at a very good time, my dear child*, ſaid Paulus Æmilius, ſtruck with the word, *I accept this omen with joy.* The ancients carried their ſuperſtition upon this kind of fortuitous circumſtances very high.

The manner *(a)* in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the ſucceſs to be expected from it. He demanded, firſt, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into Macedonia to inſpect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were neceſſary to be added both by ſea and land. They were alſo to inform themſelves, as near as poſſible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and

(a) Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the foreſts, or had entirely paſſed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had proviſions, and from whence they might be ſupplied with them either by land or water; what had paſſed during the laſt campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it neceſſary to be fully apprized in all theſe circumſtances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The ſenate approved theſe wiſe meaſures very much, and appointed commiſſioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who ſet out two days after.

During their abſence, audience was given the ambaſſadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjuſt enterprizes of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commiſſioners had made good uſe of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the paſſes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual poſſeſſion of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being ſeparated only by the river Enipæus; that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: that, to the other inconveniencies, a very ſevere winter had happened, from which they could not but ſuffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only proviſions for ſix days: that the army of the Macedonians was ſuppoſed to amount to thirty thouſand men: that if Appius Claudius had been ſufficiently ſtrong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect againſt king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unleſs a conſiderable reinforcement were immediately ſent him, or he ordered directly to quit the poſt he was in. That after having viſited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diſeaſes; that the reſt of the allies, eſpecially thoſe of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of ſeamen and ſoldiers:

ſoldiers: that thoſe who remained, had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having juſt ſhewn themſelves, diſappeared immediately, without any viſible cauſe; and that it ſeemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: but, that as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commiſſioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the ſenate decreed, that he ſhould ſet forward without loſs of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to ſucceed Ap. Claudius in his poſt near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius conſiſted, amounted to twenty-five thouſand eight hundred men; that is, of two Roman legions, each compoſed of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horſe. He had beſides ſix hundred horſe raiſed in Gallia Ciſalpina, and ſome auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Aſia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thouſand men. The prætor Anicius had alſo two legions; but they conſiſted of only 5000 foot, and 300 horſe each; which, with 10,000 of the Italian allies, and 800 horſe, compoſed the army under him of 21,200 men. The troops that ſerved on board the fleet, were 5000 men. Theſe three bodies together, made 56,200 men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, ſeemed of the laſt conſequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the ſucceſs of it. The conſul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to ſerve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none ſhould be elected into this employment, but ſuch as had already ſerved, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chuſe out of all the tribunes ſuch as he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two legions.

It muſt be allowed the Romans acted with great wiſdom upon this occaſion. They had, as we have ſeen, unanimouſly choſen conſul and general, the perſon amongſt them who was indiſputably the greateſt captain of his time. They had reſolved that no officers ſhould be raiſed to the poſt of tribune, but ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their merit, experience, and

and capacity inſtanced in real ſervice; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or ſeniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chuſe ſuch of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who ſerve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the ſoul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the beſt underſtanding between them, founded in a paſſion for the publick good, with which neither intereſt, jealouſy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all theſe regulations were made, the conſul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the ſenate to the aſſembly of the people, to whom he ſpoke in this manner. "You ſeem to me, "Romans, to have expreſſed more joy when Macedonia fell "to my lot, than when I was elected conſul, or entered upon "that office; and to me your joy ſeemed to be occaſioned by "the hopes you conceived, that I ſhould put an end, wor- "thy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, "to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too "long continuance. I have reaſon to believe, that the ſame "gods *, who have occaſioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, "will alſo aſſiſt me with their protection in conducting and "terminating this war ſucceſsfully: but of this I may ven- "ture to aſſure you, that I ſhall do my utmoſt not to fall "ſhort of your expectations. The ſenate has wiſely regulat- "ed every thing neceſſary in the expedition I am charged "with; and, as I am ordered to ſet out immediately, I ſhall "make no delay, and know that my collegue C. Licinius, "out of his great zeal for the publick ſervice, will raiſe and "march off the troops appointed for me, with as much "ardour and expedition, as if they were for himſelf. I "ſhall take care to remit to you, as well as to the ſenate, an "exact account of all that paſſes; and you may rely upon "the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as "a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or lay any "weight out of credulity upon the light reports, which are "frequently ſpread abroad without any author. I perceive "well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever re- "ſolution people may form to obviate theſe rumours, they "will

* *It was a received opinion of all ages and nations, that the divinity preſides over chance.*

" will not fail to make impreſſion, and inſpire I know not " what diſcouragement. There are thoſe, who in company, " and even at table, command armies, make diſpoſitions, " and preſcribe all the operations of the campaign. They " know better than we where we ſhould encamp, and what " poſts it is neceſſary for us to ſeize; at what time, and by " what defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is pro- " per to have magazines; from whence, either by ſea or " land, we are to bring proviſions; when we are to fight the " enemy, and when lie ſtill. They not only preſcribe what " is beſt to do, but for deviating ever ſo little from their " plans, they make it a crime in their conſul, and cite him " before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very " bad effect with your generals. All have not the reſolution " and conſtancy of Fabius, to deſpiſe impertinent reports. " He could chuſe rather to ſuffer the people upon ſuch un- " happy rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs " in order to preſerve their opinion, and an empty name. " I am far from believing, that generals ſtand in no need of " advice: I think, on the contrary, that whoever would " conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and " without counſel, ſhews more preſumption than prudence. " But ſome may aſk, how then ſhall we act reaſonably? In " not ſuffering any perſons to obtrude their advice upon your " generals, but ſuch as are, in the firſt place, verſed in the " art of war, and have learnt from experience what it is to " command; and, in the ſecond, who are upon the ſpot, " who know the enemy, are witneſſes in perſon to all that " paſſes, and ſharers with us in all dangers. If there be any " one who conceives himſelf capable of aſſiſting me with his " counſels in the war you have charged me with, let him not " refuſe to do the republick that ſervice, but let him go with " me into Macedonia; ſhips, horſes, tents, proviſions, ſhall " all be ſupplied him at my charge. But if he will not take " ſo much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to " the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take " upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in the " port. The city of itſelf ſupplies ſufficient matter of " diſcourſe on other ſubjects; but as for theſe, let it be " ſilent upon them, and know, that we ſhall pay no regard " to any counſels, but ſuch as ſhall be given us in the camp " itſelf."

This diſcourſe of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reaſon and good ſenſe, ſhews that men are the ſame in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining,

criticiſing, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not obſerve, that doing ſo is a manifeſt contradiction to reaſon and juſtice: to reaſon; for what can be more abſurd and ridiculous, than to ſee perſons, without any knowledge or experience in war, ſet themſelves up for cenſors of the moſt able generals, and pronounce with a magiſterial air upon their actions? To juſtice; for the moſt experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the ſpot: the leaſt circumſtance of time, place, diſpoſition of the troops, ſecret orders not divulged, being capable of making an abſolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we muſt not expect to ſee a failing reformed, that has its ſource in the curioſity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wiſely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to deſpiſe theſe city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing elſe to do, and have generally as little judgment as buſineſs.

Paulus Æmilius *(b)*, after having diſcharged, according to cuſtom, the duties of religion, ſet out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilſt they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perſeus, on his ſide, had not been aſleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is, three hundred thouſand crowns) and purchaſed his alliance at that price.

He ſent ambaſſadors at the ſame time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that iſland, very powerful at that time by ſea, ſhould embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarraſſed. He ſent deputies alſo to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perſeus did wiſely in having recourſe to theſe meaſures, and in endeavouring to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſuch ſupports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking thoſe ſteps, and to have made them the firſt foundations of his enterprize. He did not think of putting thoſe remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almoſt to extremity, and his affairs next to abſolutely deſperate. It was rather calling in ſpectators and aſſociates of his ruin, than aids and ſupports. The inſtructions which he gave his ambaſſadors were very ſolid and perſuaſive, as we are about to ſee;

(b) Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

ſee; but he ſhould have made uſe of them three years ſooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almoſt alone, in the war againſt ſo powerful a people, with ſo many reſources in caſe of misfortune.

The ambaſſadors had the ſame inſtructions for both thoſe kings. They repreſented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republicks and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themſelves to ruin them one after another. That they had cruſhed his father by the aſſiſtance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in ſome meaſure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been ſubjected, and that at preſent they had armed Eumenes and Pruſias againſt himſelf. That after the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be deſtroyed, Aſia would be the next to experience the ſame fate; of which they had already uſurped a part, under the ſpecious colour of re-eſtabliſhing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would ſoon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Pruſias to Eumenes by particular diſtinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perſeus requeſted of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they perſevered in the unjuſt deſign of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambaſſadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reſerve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ranſoming priſoners, and treated only in ſecret upon the real cauſe of it. There had paſſed already ſeveral conferences, at different times and places, upon the ſame ſubject, which had begun to render that prince very much ſuſpected by the Romans. It was not becauſe Eumenes deſired at bottom, that Perſeus ſhould be victorious againſt the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealouſy; neither was he more willing to declare openly againſt, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to ſee the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perſeus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befal him; the Romans, from being weary of a war ſpun out to too great a length; he deſired to become the mediator of a peace between them and to make Perſeus purchaſe his mediation, or at leaſt his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thouſand crowns.)

The only difference that remained, was in ſettling the time for the payment of that ſum. Perſeus was for waiting till the ſervice took effect, and in the mean time offered to depoſite the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himſelf ſecure in that, becauſe Samothracia depended on Perſeus, and therefore he inſiſted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewiſe in another negotiation, which might have been no leſs in his favour. He had cauſed a body of Gauls to come from the other ſide of the Danube, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horſeman, five to the infantry, and a thouſand to their captains. I have obſerved above, that theſe Gauls had taken the name of Baſtarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in towns and villages, through which they were to paſs, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, ſhould be provided for them; he had preſents for their principal officers of horſes, arms, and habits; to theſe he added ſome money, which was to be diſtributed amongſt a ſmall number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues diſtant from him. Antigonus was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw men of prodigious ſtature, ſkilful in all the exerciſes of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He ſet off, in the beſt terms the orders his maſter had given for their good reception wherever they paſſed, and the preſents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to ſend their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of theſe ſtrangers, came directly to the point; and aſked, whether he had brought the ſum agreed on. As no anſwer was given to that queſtion; *Go*, ſaid he, *and let your prince know, that till he ſends the hoſtages and ſums agreed on, the Gauls will not ſtir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, aſſembled his council. He foreſaw what they would adviſe; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to diſguiſe his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give ſuch numbers of them entrance into Macedonia,

from

from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thouſand horſe would ſuffice for him. Every body perceived that his ſole apprehenſion was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his maſter had occaſion for no more than five thouſand horſe. Upon which they raiſed an univerſal cry and murmur againſt Perſeus, who had made them come ſo far to inſult them ſo groſly. Clondicus having aſked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thouſand horſe; as the deputy ſought evaſions, and gave no direct anſwers, the Gauls grew furious, and were juſt going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had no regard to his quality of deputy, and diſmiſſed him without any ill treatment to his perſon. The Gauls marched away immediately, reſumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perſeus, with ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached thoſe Gauls into Theſſaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the ſtrongeſt places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have ſubſiſted any longer in the country, becauſe they could have brought no proviſions as before from Theſſaly, which would have been entirely laid waſte. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any uſe of ſo great an advantage.

The ſame vice made him loſe another of the ſame nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length conſented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raiſing troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thouſand crowns) in part of the ſum promiſed him. Gentius diſpatched his ambaſſadors, and with them perſons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them alſo, when all ſhould be concluded, to join Perſeus's ambaſſadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republick into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had repreſented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head againſt the three powers united. Perſeus received thoſe ambaſſadors with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. After the exchange of hoſtages, and the taking of oaths on

both ſides, it only remained to deliver the 300 talents. The ambaſſadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into cheſts, under the ſeal of the ambaſſadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perſeus had given orders underhand to the perſons charged with this convoy to march ſlowly, and by ſmall journeys, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to ſtop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made preſſing inſtances to the king to declare againſt the Romans by ſome act of hoſtility. In the mean while arrived ambaſſadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earneſt, and advice that the whole ſum was upon the road. Upon the repeated ſolicitations of Pentauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he cauſed the two ambaſſadors to be impriſoned, under pretence that they were ſpies. As ſoon as Perſeus had received this news, believing himſelf ſufficiently and irretrievably engaged againſt the Romans by ſo glaring an act, he recalled thoſe who carried the 300 talents; congratulating himſelf in ſecret upon the good ſucceſs of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in ſaving his money. But he did not ſee that he only kept it in reſerve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himſelf againſt him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his ſon Alexander, the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors, who uſed to ſay, *That victory ſhould be purchaſed with money, and not money ſaved at the expence of victory.*

The ambaſſadors of Perſeus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republick had reſolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare againſt that which ſhould refuſe to accept propoſals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their poſts in the beginning of the ſpring; the conſul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The ſucceſs of the laſt was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war againſt Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had ſurrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities ſoon followed its example. Gentius himſelf was reduced to come, and throw himſelf at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confeſſing, with tears in his eyes,

eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His firſt care was to take the two ambaſſadors out of priſon. He ſent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and ſome days after cauſed Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The ſight of ſuch illuſtrious priſoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thankſgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vaſt concourſe of perſons of all ſexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perſeus encamped near the ſea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which ſeemed inacceſſible. He had the Enipæus in front, whoſe banks were very high; and on the ſide where he lay he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from ſpace to ſpace, on which were placed baliſtæ, and other machines for diſcharging darts and ſtones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perſeus had fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, as made him believe himſelf entirely ſecure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at laſt repulſe, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to ſubſiſt his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adverſary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts ſolely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and meaſures for executing ſome enterprize with ſucceſs. He began by eſtabliſhing an exact and ſevere diſcipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licenſe wherein it had been ſuffered to live. He reformed ſeveral things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of centinels. It had been a cuſtom amongſt the ſoldiers to criticiſe upon their general, to examine all his actions amongſt themſelves, to preſcribe him conduct, and to explain upon what he ſhould or ſhould not do. He ſpoke to them with reſolution and dignity. He gave them to underſtand, that ſuch diſcourſes did not become a ſoldier; that he ought to make only three things his buſineſs; the care of his body, in order to render it robuſt and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his * proviſions, that he might be always in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice; that for the reſt, he ought to rely upon the goodneſs of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his gene-

* *The Roman ſoldiers ſometimes carried proviſions for ten or twelve days.*

ral. That for himſelf, he ſhould omit nothing that might be neceſſary to give them occaſion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the ſignal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this diſcourſe. The old ſoldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A ſurprizing change was immediately obſerved in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The ſoldiers were ſeen ſharpening their ſwords, poliſhing their helmets, cuiraſſes, and ſhields; practiſing an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandiſhing their naked ſwords; in ſhort, forming and inuring themſelves in all military exerciſes; ſo that it was eaſy to foreſee, that upon the firſt opportunity they ſhould have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was ſituated very commodiouſly, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whoſe thoughts extended to every thing, ſeeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flouriſhing, judged, from the quantity and quality of thoſe trees, that there muſt be ſprings of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the ſame time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the ſand. The ſurface * was ſcarce broke up, when ſprings of water were ſeen to run, muddy at firſt, and in ſmall quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the ſoldiers as a ſingular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and reſpected by them than before.

When Perſeus ſaw what paſſed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the ſoldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exerciſes by which they prepared themſelves for combat, he began to be greatly diſquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hoſtilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his ſide, animated his ſoldiers, employed himſelf in forming them by different exerciſes, added new works to the old, and uſed all means to put his camp out of danger of inſult.

In

* Vix deducta ſumma arena erat, cum ſcaturigines turbidæ primo & tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deûm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ & auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. *Liv.*

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This cauſed incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongſt the ſoldiers an inexpreſſible ardour to ſignalize themſelves alſo on their ſide. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perſeus endeavoured at firſt to ſuppreſs this news; but his care to diſſemble it only ſerved to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongſt his troops, who apprehended the ſame fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambaſſadors, who came to make the ſame propoſals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had ſo highly offended the ſenate. It is eaſy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them diſmiſſed with inſult. The conſul thought, the beſt way to expreſs his contempt for them was to reply coldly, that he would give them an anſwer in fifteen days.

To ſhew how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he aſſembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Theſſaly; perhaps upon account of proviſions; for at preſent they conſulted upon meaſures for opening a paſſage into Macedonia. Some, and thoſe the oldeſt officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's entrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They obſerved, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not ſuſtain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius with the fleet ſhould go to Theſſalonica, and attack the ſea-coaſts, in order to oblige the king, by that diverſion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the paſſage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to chuſe what meaſures he pleaſes. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He ſaw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural ſituation, as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inacceſſible. He knew beſides, without mentioning the machines diſpoſed on all ſides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in diſcharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of ſuch impenetrable lines as thoſe were had been to expoſe his troops to inevitable ſlaughter; and a good general ſpares the blood of his ſoldiers, becauſe he looks

upon himſelf as their father, and believes it his duty to preſerve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore for ſome days, without making the leaſt motion. Plutarch ſays, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies ſo numerous, that lay ſo long in the preſence of each other, in ſuch profound peace, and in ſo perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the ſoldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquieſce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and uſing all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whoſe prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town ſituate upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult acceſs, but was well guarded. Perſeus had ſent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived, that in cauſing this poſt to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take poſſeſſion of it. It was neceſſary, therefore, to amuſe the enemy, and to conceal his real deſign. He ſent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himſelf to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days proviſions with him for 1000 men; in order to make Perſeus believe, that he was going to ravage the ſea-coaſts. At the ſame time he made his ſon Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Naſica, the ſon-in-law of Scipio Africanus, ſet out: he gave them a detachment of 5000 choſen troops, and ordered them to march by the ſea-ſide towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been propoſed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the conſul's orders. As ſoon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coaſt, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded, that they ſhould arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuſe the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a ſlight engagement in the courſe of the river itſelf, which was then very low. The banks on each ſide, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the ſtream was 1000 paces broad. The action paſſed in the ſight of the king and conſul,

* *The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was ſituated, was upwards of ten ſtadia, or half a league.*

conſul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The conſul cauſed the retreat to be ſounded towards noon. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides. The next day the battle was renewed in the ſame manner, and almoſt at the ſame hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only thoſe upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and ſtones upon them. The conſul loſt abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay ſtill, and ſeemed to deſign to attempt a paſſage near the ſea. Perſeus did not ſuſpect in the leaſt the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reaſon he made them reſt themſelves the remainder of the night. Perſeus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a ſudden a Cretan deſerter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, rouzed him from his ſecurity, by letting him know the compaſs the Romans had taken to ſurprize him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign ſoldiers, with 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all poſſible diligence to take poſſeſſion of an eminence which the Romans had ſtill to paſs, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement enſued upon this eminence, and the victory was for ſome time in ſuſpence. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all ſides, and were put to the rout. Scipio purſued them vigorouſly, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When thoſe who fled came to the camp of Perſeus, they occaſioned ſo great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, ſeized with fear, and almoſt in deſpair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper meaſures. The queſtion was, whether it was beſt to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, ſupply them well with proviſions, and expect the enemy there, who could not ſubſiſt long in a country which he had taken care to lay waſte, and could furniſh neither forage for the horſe, nor proviſions for the men. The latter reſolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the laſt extremity, without either hope or reſource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in perſon. Whilſt Per-

ſeus, uncertain what to reſolve, fluctuated in doubt; the principal officers repreſented to him, that his army was much ſuperior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himſelf witneſs of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. Theſe reaſons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, aſſigned every one his poſt, and gave all orders with great preſence of mind; reſolved to attack the Romans as ſoon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a ſecure retreat, and alſo a means to conceal their marching to ſurround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two ſmall rivers, which had not much water at that time, in conſequence of the ſeaſon (for it was then about the end of ſummer) but whoſe ſteep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachmeat, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle againſt the enemy; keeping always on the ſea-coaſt, for the convenience of having proviſions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had conſidered the good diſpoſition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to intreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whoſe boldneſs was increaſed by his late ſucceſs upon mount Olympus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his earneſtneſs, and the preſſing inſtances he made. He repreſented to him, that the generals, his predeceſſors, had ſuffered the enemy to eſcape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perſeus would fly in the night, and they ſhould be obliged to purſue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remoteſt parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compaſſes through defiles and foreſts, as had happened in the preceding years. He adviſed him therefore, whilſt the enemy was in the open

field

field, to attack him immediately, and not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the conſul to young Scipio, "I "thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I "do. I ſhall give you the reaſons of my conduct another "time; at preſent, ſatisfy yourſelf, and rely upon the diſ-"cretion of an old general." The young officer was ſilent, convinced that the conſul had good reaſons for acting as he did.

After having ſpoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to preſent a front, as if they intended to engage. They were diſpoſed, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, in three lines. At the ſame time the pioneers *(c)*, covered by thoſe lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was ſoon completed. The conſul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was neareſt the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the entrenchments, without confuſion, diſorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his ſide, ſeeing the Romans decline fighting, retired alſo into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongſt the Romans, though they were to ſtay only one day and night in a place, to encloſe themſelves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themſelves out of inſult, and avoided all ſurprize. The ſoldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the entrenchments ſerved inſtead of walls, and the tents of houſes. In caſe of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp ſerved for their retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and ſecurity.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreſhment, whilſt they had no other thoughts than of going to reſt, on a ſudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour ſeveral times, and was at length totally eclipſed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having aſſembled the ſoldiers, with the conſul's permiſſion, had apprized them of the eclipſe, and ſhewn them the exact moment when

(c) Haſtati Principes Triarii.

* Majores veſtri caſtra munita portum ad omnes caſus exercitûs ducebant eſſe.—Patria altera eſt militaris hæc ſedes, vallumque pro mœnibus & tentorium ſuum cuique militi domus ac penates ſunt—Caſtra ſunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. *Liv.* l. xliv. n. 39.

when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman ſoldiers therefore were not aſtoniſhed at this accident; they only believed, that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were ſeized with horror and dread; and it was whiſpered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious obſerver of all the ceremonies preſcribed for the ſacrifices, or rather very ſuperſtitious, applied himſelf to offering oxen to Hercules. He ſacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable ſign in the entrails of thoſe victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth he imagined he ſaw ſuch as promiſed him the victory, if he only defended himſelf, without attacking the enemy. At the ſame time he vowed a ſacrifice to the ſame god of 100 oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all theſe religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he aſſembled his council. He had heard complaints of his ſlowneſs in attacking the enemy. He deſired therefore to give this aſſembly an account of his conduct, eſpecially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promiſed it. The reaſons for his not having given battle the day before were: firſt, becauſe the enemy's army was much ſuperior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken conſiderably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the ſecond place, would it have conſiſted with prudence to engage troops entirely freſh with his, exhauſted as they were by a long and painful march, by the exceſſive weight of their arms, by the heat of the ſun, with which they had been almoſt broiled, and by thirſt, which gave them inſupportable pain? In the laſt place, he inſiſted ſtrongly on the indiſpenſable neceſſity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-entrenched camp behind him, which might, in caſe of accident, ſerve the army for a retreat. He concluded his diſcourſe with bidding them prepare for battle the ſame day.

We ſee here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of ſoldiers and ſubaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to deſire, and behave well in, battle; but the general's buſineſs is to foreſee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chuſe his meaſures with mature deliberation; and by a wiſe delay of ſome days, or even hours, he often preſerves an army, which an inconſiderate precipitation might have expoſed to ruin.

Though

* Diviſa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, conſultando, cunctatione ſæpius quam temeritate prodeſſe. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. iii. c. 20.

Though the reſolution for fighting had been taken on both ſides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either ſide. Some Thracian ſoldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to aſſiſt theſe foragers. The Macedonians cauſed troops to advance to ſupport the Thracians; the reinforcements on both ſides continually increaſing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have loſt the paſſage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which deſcribes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a juſt idea of it, what Plutarch ſays being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx diſtinguiſhed themſelves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the ſhields of his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their ſwords; and he ſaw, at the ſame time, that the whole front line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and preſented their pikes. This rampart of braſs, and foreſt of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with aſtoniſhment and terror. He often ſpoke afterwards of the impreſſion that dreadful ſight made upon him, and what reaſon it gave him to doubt of the ſucceſs of the battle. But not to diſcourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and ſerene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuiraſs, animating them with his expreſſions, and much more by his example. The general, more than ſixty years of age, was ſeen expoſing himſelf to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmoſt endeavours, one of their officers took the enſigns of his company, and toſſed into the midſt of the enemy. The reſt threw themſelves, in conſequence, like deſperate men upon that battalion. Aſtoniſhing actions enſued on both ſides, with a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their ſwords, and to puſh them back with their bucklers; ſtriving ſometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aſide, in order to open themſelves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping cloſe order, and holding their

their pikes in both hands, preſented that iron rampart, and gave thoſe ſuch great ſtrokes that flung upon them, that, piercing ſhields and cuiraſſes, they laid the boldeſt of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to ruſh headlong, like wild beaſts, upon the ſpears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they ſaw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into diſorder, the ſecond was diſcouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, inſtead of advancing, they retreated toward mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius ſaw that, he tore his clothes, and was ſtruck with extreme ſorrow to ſee, upon the firſt troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It preſented a front covered with pikes, and cloſe as an impenetrable entrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every-where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius obſerved the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one ſide, whilſt it advanced on the other; which muſt neceſſarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the ſame vigour, fight alſo with different ſucceſs.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void ſpaces of the enemies battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by ſmall detachments, and in different places at the ſame time. This order, given ſo critically, occaſioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void ſpaces, and thereby put it out of the enemies power to uſe their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an inſtant, and all its force, which conſiſted ſolely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vaniſhed and diſappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their ſhort ſwords ſtruck upon the Roman ſhields, which were very ſtrong and ſolid, and covered them almoſt from head to foot; on the contrary, they oppoſed ſmall bucklers againſt the ſwords of the Romans, which were heavy and ſtrong, and handled with ſuch force and vigour, that they ſcarce diſcharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make ſhields and armour fly in pieces, and draw

* *That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.*

draw blood. The phalanx having loſt their advantage, and being taken on their weak ſide, reſiſted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himſelf to his fear, rode off full ſpeed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a ſacrifice to Hercules; as if, ſays Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the ſacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjuſt vows; for it is not juſt that he ſhould be victorious, who durſt not face his enemy: whereas the ſame god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, becauſe he aſked victory with ſword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmeſt, and where the Romans found the greateſt reſiſtance. It was there, alſo, that the ſon of Cato, Paulus Æmilus's ſon-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily loſt his ſword, which ſlipt out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himſelf and inconſolable, he ran through the ranks, and aſſembling a body of brave and reſolute young ſoldiers, he ruſhed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a moſt bloody ſlaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining maſters of the ground, they applied themſelves in ſearching for the ſword, which they found at laſt under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Tranſported with that good fortune, and raiſing ſhouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon ſuch of the enemy as ſtood firm; ſo that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a diſtinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceaſing to fight to the laſt moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the reſt fled, and ſo great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans paſſed the river Leucus, they found the waters ſtill ſtained with their blood. It is ſaid that 25,000 men on the ſide of the Macedonians periſhed in this battle. The Romans loſt only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 priſoners. The cavalry, which had no ſhare in this battle, ſeeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour againſt the phalanx, did not think at that time of purſuing them.

This great battle was decided ſo ſuddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory

victory before four. The reſt of the day was employed in the purſuit, which was carried very far; ſo that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the ſervants in the army went out to meet their maſters with great ſhouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of * ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midſt of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two ſons he had in the battle, the youngeſt, who was but ſeventeen years old, and whom he loved with moſt tenderneſs, becauſe he had already given great hopes of himſelf, did not appear. The camp was in an univerſal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful ſilence. They ſearched for him with torches amongſt the dead, but to no purpoſe. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they deſpaired of ever ſeeing him more, he returned from the purſuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taſte the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reſerved for other tears, and ruins no leſs to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we ſpeak, was the ſecond Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the ſon of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The conſul immediately diſpatched three couriers of diſtinction (of whom his ſon Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perſeus, continuing his flight, had paſſed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horſe, which had eſcaped from the battle without ſtriking a blow. The foot ſoldiers that fled in diſorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the ſharpeſt terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their reſentment farther, they pulled them off their horſes, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the conſequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand: and, to diſcourſe with his friends with the more eaſe, he alighted, and led his horſe in his hand. Several of thoſe

* *This was a cuſtom among the Romans. Cæſar writes in the third book of the civil war,* That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and ſome others, covered with ivy. L etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

thoſe who attended him took different routs from his, under various pretexts; leſs to avoid the purſuit of the enemy, than to ſhun the fury of the prince, whoſe defeat had only ſerved to irritate and enflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and thoſe all ſtrangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to aſſaſſinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the laſt.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he ſtabbed two of his treaſurers with his own hands, for being ſo bold as to repreſent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counſel, upon what was neceſſary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely loſt him with every body. Alarmed by the almoſt univerſal deſertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himſelf ſafe at Pella, and left it the ſame night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greateſt part of his treaſures. When he arrived there, he ſent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the iſland of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their ſubmiſſion.

The conſul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy ſituation of which he admired. The king's treaſures had been kept in this city; but only the 300 talents he had ſent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards cauſed to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perſeus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to paſs from thence into that iſland.

He was encamped *(d)* at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perſeus, which was preſented to him by three deputies of inconſiderabe birth and condition. He could not forbear ſhedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the preſent condition of Perſeus was a ſenſible example. But when he ſaw this title and inſcription upon the letter, *Perſeus the king, to the conſul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*; the ſtupid ignorance that prince ſeemed to be in of his condition, extinguiſhed in him all ſenſe of compaſſion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and ſupplicant ſtyle, and

(d) Liv. l. xlv. n. 3--9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* *An obſcure unknown city, upon the eaſtern frontier of Macedonia.*

and little conſiſted with the royal dignity, he diſmiſſed the deputies without an anſwer. How haughty were theſe proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perſeus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a ſecond letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, becauſe, on the one ſide, Perſeus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, inſiſted, that he ſhould ſubmit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perſeus by force out of that aſylum, in reſpect to the gods who preſided in it, but he endeavoured by promiſes and threats to induce him to quit it, and ſurrender himſelf to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himſelf, or in concert with the prætor, took another courſe to draw the king out of the ſanctuary. In the aſſembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he ſaid to them: "Is it a truth, or "without foundation, that your iſland is held a ſacred and "inviolable aſylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being anſwered by all preſent, that it was undoubtedly ſo. "How "then," continued he, "do you ſuffer its ſanctity to be "violated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of "king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by "the excluſion of thoſe whoſe hands are impure, how can "you ſuffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the "preſence of an infamous murderer?" This accuſation fell upon Perſeus; but the Samothracians choſe rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes. They ſent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accuſed of aſſaſſination, and that he ſhould appear, according to the cuſtom of their ſanctuary, to juſtify himſelf before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he ſhould take meaſures for his ſafety, and quit the temple. The king having ſent for Evander, adviſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms not to ſubmit to that ſentence. He had his reaſons for giving this counſel, apprehending he would declare, that the aſſaſſination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to underſtand, that the only method he could take was to kill himſelf. Evander ſeemed at firſt to conſent to it, and profeſſing, that he had rather die by

poiſon





PERSEUS in the TENT of PAULUS EMILIUS.

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poiſon than the ſword, he intended to make his eſcape by flight. The king was aware of that deſign, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their reſentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the puniſhment he deſerved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the ſanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magiſtrate with preſents of money, who declared in the aſſembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himſelf.

The prætor, not being able to perſuade Perſeus to quit his aſylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his eſcape. However, notwithſtanding his precautions, Perſeus gained ſecretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ſhip, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treaſures; they amounted to 2,000 talents, that is, to about 300,000 pounds. But, ſuſpicious as he was, he did not diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the whole; ſent only a part of it to the ſhip, and reſerved the reſt of it to be carried on board with himſelf. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occaſion, ſhipped all the gold and ſilver that had been ſent him in the evening, and let Perſeus know, that he had only to come to port at midnight with his children, and ſuch of his people as were abſolutely neceſſary to attend his perſon.

The appointed time approaching, Perſeus with infinite difficulty crept through a narrow window, croſſed a garden, and got out through a ruinous houſe, with his wife and ſon. The remainder of his treaſures followed him. His grief and deſpair was inexpreſſible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under ſail. He had entruſted his other children to Ion of Theſſalonia, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cauſe that induced Perſeus to put himſelf into the power of thoſe who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly ſurrendered himſelf and Philip his ſon to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the conſul; having firſt apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius ſent his ſon-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perſeus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his ſon. The conſul, who waited for him with a ſufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival roſe from his ſeat, and advancing ſome few ſteps, offered him his hand. Perſeus threw himſelf at his feet; but he raiſed him immediately, and would not ſuffer him to embrace his knees.

Having

Having introduced him into his tent, he made him ſit down, facing thoſe who formed the aſſembly.

He began by aſking him; "What cauſe of diſcontent had "induced him to enter with ſo much animoſity into a war "with the Roman people, that expoſed himſelf and his king-"dom to the greateſt dangers?" When, inſtead of the an-"ſwer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and ſhedding tears, kept ſilence, Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you aſcended the "throne a youth, I ſhould be leſs ſurprized at your being ig-"norant of what it was to have the Roman people for your "friends or enemies. But having been preſent in the war "made by your father againſt us, and certainly remembering "the peace, which we have punctually obſerved on our ſide, "how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a "people, whoſe force in the former, and fidelity in the "latter, you had ſo well experienced?" Perſeus making no more anſwer to this reproach than he had done to the firſt queſtion: "In whatſoever manner, notwithſtanding," reſumed the conſul, "theſe affairs have happened; whether "they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are "liable, or of chance, or that fatal deſtiny which ſuperin-"tends all things, take courage. The clemency with which "the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other "kings and nations, ought to inſpire you, I do not ſay with "ſome hope only, but with almoſt entire confidence, that "you will meet with the ſame treatment." He ſpoke this in Greek to Perſeus: Then turning towards the Romans, "You "* ſee," ſaid he in his own language, "a great example of "the inconſtancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, "young Romans, I addreſs this diſcourſe. The uncertainty "of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us "never to uſe any one with inſolence and cruelty in our pro-"ſperity, nor rely too much upon our preſent advantages. "The proof of real merit and true valour is neither to be "too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his preſent condition would admit.

The

* Exemplum inſigne cernitis, *inquit*, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in ſecundis rebus nihil in quemquam ſuperbè ac violenter conſulere decet, nec præſenti credere fortunæ, cum, quid veſper ferat incertum ſit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec proſpera flatu ſuo efferet, nec adverſa infringet. *Liv.*

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greateſt part of the troops; the reſt were diſtributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perſeus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom ſo illuſtrious both in Europe and Aſia. Perſeus had *(e)* reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the firſt that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conqueſt coſt Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obſcure, till the time of Philip, ſon of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made conſiderable acquiſitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Aſia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, ſubjected all the provinces, of which the vaſt empire of the Perſians was compoſed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one ſide, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greateſt that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander by his ſucceſſors, who took each a part to himſelf, ſubſiſted during ſomething more than 150 years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raiſed it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the ſo-much-boaſted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the univerſe; or, to ſpeak more juſtly, the example of the moſt vain and moſt frantick ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had ſent to Rome, to carry thither the news of this victory over Perſeus, uſed all poſſible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilſt the games were celebrating in their Circus, it was whiſpered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perſeus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magiſtrates, after a ſtrict enquiry, had diſcovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that falſe and ſhort-lived joy ceaſed, and left only a ſecret

(e) Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* *Livy, ſuch as we have him, ſays* the twentieth. *Juſtin* the thirtieth. *It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it ſhould be corrected,* the fortieth, *with Euſebius.*

ſecret hope, that it was perhaps a preſage of victory, which either was already, or would ſoon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perſeus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not eſcape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been ſuſpended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumſtantial narrative of the battle, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people. Publick prayers and ſacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an inſtant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their ſignal protection vouchſafed the republick.

After the nomination of *(f)* new conſuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commiſſioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The ſenate, before they ſet out, regulated their commiſſion in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians ſhould be declared free; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to ſubject free people, but to deliver ſuch as were enſlaved; ſo that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and juſtice by them, in conſideration for the Romans; or that, whenever war ſhould ariſe between thoſe kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the iſſue of thoſe wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The ſenate alſo aboliſhed certain duties upon the mines and land-eſtates; becauſe thoſe duties could not be collected but by the miniſtry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever ſuch ſort * of farmers are ſuffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppreſſed. They eſtabliſhed a general council for the nation; leſt the populace ſhould cauſe the liberty granted them by the ſenate to degenerate into a deſtructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions: each of which had a diſtinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accuſtomed to pay their kings. Theſe were in part the orders with which the commiſſioners for Macedonia were charged. Thoſe for Illyria had almoſt the

(f) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. lxlv. n. 17, 18.

* Et ubi publicanus eſt, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem ſociis nullam eſſe. *Liv.*

the ſame inſtructions, and arrived there firſt. After having communicated their commiſſion to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they ſummoned an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the nation. Anicius having aſcended his tribunal, declared to them, that the ſenate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garriſons ſhould be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as ſoon as poſſible. In regard to ſome people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the reſt were diſcharged from one half of the impoſts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their publick council and magiſtrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia *(g)* arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leiſure, viſited, during the autumn, the moſt celebrated cities of Greece; to ſee thoſe things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he ſet out with a ſmall train, accompanied by young Scipio his ſon, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He paſſed through Theſſaly, in his way to Delphos, the moſt celebrated oracle in the univerſe. The multitude and value of the preſents, ſtatues, veſſels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, ſurprized him extremely. He there offered a ſacrifice to Apollo. Having ſeen a great ſquare pillar of white marble, on which a golden ſtatue of Perſeus was to have been placed, he cauſed his own to be ſet upon it, ſaying, *That the vanquiſhed ought to give place to the victors.*

He ſaw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, ſurnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which thoſe who conſulted the * oracle deſcended. He offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddeſs Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curioſity in ſeeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the ſea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon ſailed for Troy. He made a viſit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whoſe altar that king of kings ſacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a proſperous voyage from the goddeſs.

(g) Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* *For an account of this oracle, ſee* Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

After having paſſed through Oropus in Attica, where the ſoothſayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects preſented themſelves to his view, well capable of inſpiring and gratifying his curioſity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arſenals for the navy, erected by illuſtrious generals, the ſtatues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were moſt admirable. He did not forget to offer a ſacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of the citadel.

Whilſt Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philoſopher of the Athenians to finiſh the education of his children, and a fine painter to deſign the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately caſt their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philoſophy and painting: a very ſingular and extraordinary praiſe, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here ſee the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The ſons of that Roman general were then of ſome age, the youngeſt of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time ſeventeen years old. He thought it neceſſary, however, to have a philoſopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the ſtudy of the ſciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all ſtudies is the moſt important, and yet the moſt neglected. To know what are the effects of ſuch an education, we have not only to conſider the future greatneſs of the youngeſt of the two ſons of this conſul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by polite learning and the ſciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the hiſtorian, Panætius the philoſopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to uſe the terms of a * writer of excellent ſenſe, never ſaid, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treaſure he ſought, in the perſon of Metrodorus, left Athens well ſatisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and iſthmus were an agreeable ſight to him. The firſt, which was ſituated upon

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui, qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac ſenſit. *Paterc.* l. i, c. 12.

upon the top of a mountain, abounded with ſtreams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the iſthmus, which ſeparated by a very ſmall neck of land two neighbouring ſeas, the one on the eaſt, and the other on the weſt of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illuſtrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, leſs opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æſculapius, where he ſaw an infinite multitude of rich preſents, the offerings of ſick perſons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not diſtinguiſhed by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wiſdom of its laws, cuſtoms, and diſcipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he ſaw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he caſt his eyes upon the ſtatue of Jupiter, Phidias's maſter-piece, he was as much ſtruck, ſays Livy, as if he had ſeen the god himſelf, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer**. Imagining himſelf in the Capitol, he offered a more ſolemn ſacrifice here than he had done any where elſe.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himſelf any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perſeus, and to avoid giving the allies any cauſe of diſcontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commiſſioners had already paſſed the ſea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much ſurprized to meet Perſeus there, whom his guards ſuffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpitius, to whoſe care he had confided that important priſoner. He put him, with Philip his ſon, into the hands of Poſthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger ſon, he cauſed them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered ſuch care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

* *To have ſo well expreſſed the idea of Homer is highly to the praiſe of Phidias; but the having ſo well conceived all the majeſty of God is much more to that of Homer.*

The commiſſioners *(h)* being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the aſſembly, where a great number of Macedonians were preſent, he took his ſeat in his tribunal, and after having cauſed ſilence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the ſenate and by himſelf, in conjunction with the commiſſioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it ſhould pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the ſum of 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns; that it ſhould have a public council, compoſed of a certain number of ſenators, wherein all affairs ſhould be diſcuſſed and adjudged; that it ſhould be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that ſhould each have their council, in which particular affairs ſhould be examined; and that no perſon ſhould contract marriage, or purchaſe lands or houſes out of their own canton. Several other articles of leſs importance were annexed to theſe. The prætor Octavius, who was preſent in this aſſembly, explained the ſeveral articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleaſure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the diviſion of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their uſual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by ſeparating its members, which have no life, and ſubſiſt only in their mutual ſupport of each other.

The conſul *(i)* afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I ſhall relate elſewhere the ſubject of it.

After thoſe foreign affairs were over, *(k)* Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the aſſembly, in order to put the laſt hand to his regulations. He ſpoke at firſt upon the ſenators, who were to compoſe the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be tranſacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A liſt was then read of the principal perſons of the country, who were to be ſent into Italy, with ſuch of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article ſeemed very hard at firſt; but it was ſoon perceived, that it had been reſolved only for the better ſecurity of the people's liberty. For this liſt included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all ſuch as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embaſſies, with many other officers accuſtomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of ſlaves, and to command others

(h) Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30. *(i)* Ibid. n. 31. *(k)* Ibid. n. 32.

others with inſolence. Theſe were all rich perſons who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not eaſily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and ſubjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and tranſport themſelves into Italy, upon pain of death for ſuch as diſobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were ſo reaſonable, that they did not ſeem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reaſon to be ſatisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are beſt known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the inſtitutions of that wiſe magiſtrate.

To theſe ſerious affairs *(l)* ſucceeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities of Aſia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent ſacrifices to the gods, and gave ſuperb feaſts; the king's treaſures ſupplying him abundantly with the means of defraying ſuch great expences; but for the good order and fine taſte obſervable in them, he was indebted ſolely to himſelf. For having ſo many thouſands to receive, he evidenced ſo nice a diſcernment, and ſo exact a knowledge of the quality of all the gueſts, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reaſon to praiſe his politeneſs and generoſity. The Greeks could not ſufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he ſhould inſtance ſo diſtinguiſhing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greateſt, ſhould not neglect the leaſt propriety in ſmall affairs.

He had cauſed all the ſpoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all ſorts; and cauſed them to be diſpoſed of in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he ſet fire to them firſt himſelf, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards expoſed to the view of the ſpectators, upon a place raiſed expreſly for the occaſion, all that was richeſt and moſt magnificent in the ſpoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, ſtatues, and paintings of the greateſt maſters, veſſels of gold, ſilver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the

(l) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

times of its greateſt opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the higheſt ſatisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was ſtill more grateful to ſelf-love, was to ſee, that in the midſt of ſo many extraordinary objects and curious ſights, nothing was thought ſo wonderful, or ſo worthy of attention and admiration, as himſelf. And as people were ſurprized at the fine order of his table, he ſaid, with an air of pleaſantry, that the ſame genius which was neceſſary in diſpoſing a battle would ſerve alſo in regulating a feaſt; in the firſt, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to gueſts.

His diſintereſtedneſs and magnanimity were no leſs praiſed than his magnificence and politeneſs; for he never ſo much as ſaw the gold and ſilver found amongſt the king's treaſures, which amounted to very great ſums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treaſurers, in order to its being applied to the uſe of the public. He only permitted his ſons, who were fond of ſtudy, to keep the books of Perſeus's library for their own uſe. The young noblemen of thoſe times, and ſuch as were deſigned one day for the command of armies, did not profeſs a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unneceſſary to the profeſſion of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius *(m)* had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuſe the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preſerve it by good government and union, he ſet out for Epirus, with a decree of the ſenate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party to be plundered by his troops. He had ſent alſo Scipio Naſica, and Fabius his ſon, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commiſſion, that his deſign ſhould not be foreſeen. He therefore ſent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garriſons, in order that the Epirots ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a ſtratagem was called prudence. He then ſignified to ten of the principal perſons of each city, that they ſhould bring all the gold and ſilver in their houſes and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treaſury, and diſtributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and ſilver was brought early in the morning into the

(m) Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

the public place, and at ten of the clock the ſoldiers fell furiouſly upon the houſes that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thouſand men were made ſlaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demoliſhed, the number of which wanted very little of ſeventy. The whole booty was ſold, and of the ſum raiſed by it, each of the horſe had about ten pounds ſterling (400 denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (200 denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which was gentle and humane, had cauſed this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the ſea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having aſſembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal perſons of them, whoſe cauſe had been reſerved for the judgment of the ſenate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being *(n)* arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perſeus's galley, which had ſixteen benches of oars, and wherein was diſplayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich ſtuffs and fineſt carpets of purple found amongſt the booty. All the Romans who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the ſide of the river, and ſeemed to give the proconſul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had ſo well deſerved. But the ſoldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immenſe treaſures of the king, and had not had all the ſhare of them they had promiſed themſelves, retained a warm reſentment upon that account, and were very ill ſatisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and ſeemed determined to refuſe him the honour of a triumph by their ſuffrages. The ſoldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of diſcipline, rigour; and their diſcontent, occaſioned by avarice, threw a falſe gloſs upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do juſtice in their hearts, by acknowledging the ſuperiority of his merit in every thing.

After ſome debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been ſo magnificent. It continued three days ſucceſſively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that ſeems foreign to the Grecian Hiſtory. The money in ſpecie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and ſilver veſſels, amounted to more than 1,250,000 *l.* ſterling. One ſingle cup of maſſy gold, which

(n) Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

which Paulus Æmilius had cauſed to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only at 100,000 crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Beſides theſe rich ſpoils and treaſures, which were carried in pomp, was ſeen the chariot of Perſeus, with his arms, and upon his arms his royal diadem. At ſome diſtance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors and all the officers of their houſhold, who ſhedding tears held out their hands to the people, and taught thoſe little captives to do the ſame, and to endeavour, by their ſupplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two ſons and a daughter, who had little ſenſe of the greatneſs of their calamity, from the tenderneſs of their years; a circumſtance which ſtill more excited compaſſion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilſt their father was ſcarce regarded, and in the midſt of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at ſo mournful a ſight.

King Perſeus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour ſeemed to argue, that the exceſs of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, ſufficiently explained to the ſpectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were ſenſible ſolely to thoſe of their king.

It is ſaid, that Perſeus ſent to deſire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a ſpectacle to the Romans, and to ſpare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he aſks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himſelf.* He reproached in thoſe few words his cowardice and exceſſive love of life, which the Pagans thought it incumbent on them to ſacrifice generouſly in ſuch conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's life. But Perſeus was not prevented by that conſideration.

Paulus Æmilius, ſeated in a ſuperb chariot, and magnificently adorned, cloſed the march. He had his two ſons on each ſide of him.

Whatever compaſſion he had for the misfortunes of Perſeus, and however inclined he might be to ſerve him, all he could do for him was to have him removed from the public priſon to a more commodious place. Himſelf and his ſon Alexander were carried, by the order of the ſenate, to Alba, where he was

* *The talent weighed ſixty pounds.*

was guarded, and ſupplied with money, furniture, and people to ſerve him. Moſt authors agree, that he occaſioned his own death by abſtaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till ſome years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were alſo granted the honour of a triumph; the firſt for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, ſent to demand his ſon, who had been confined in priſon, after having been led in triumph. He excuſed himſelf for his attachment to the party of Perſeus, and offered a great ranſom for the priſoner. The ſenate, without receiving his excuſes, replied, that having more regard to his ancient ſervices than late fault, they would ſend back his ſon, but without accepting any ranſom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they choſe rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of thoſe they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

CHAP. II.

THIS ſecond chapter includes the ſpace of ſomething more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perſeus, to the taking and deſtruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT. I. ATTALUS *comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their ſucceſs in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians preſent themſelves before the ſenate, and endeavour to appeaſe their wrath. After long and warm ſolicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exerciſed againſt the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured* PERSEUS, *are cited to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct. A thouſand Achæans carried thither:* POLYBIUS *one of the number. The ſenate baniſhes them into ſeveral towns of Italy. After ſeventeen years of baniſhment, they are ſent back into their own country; when only* 300 *of them remained.*

(o) AMONGST the different embaſſies from kings and ſtates, which came to Rome after the victory over Perſeus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, (p) more

(o) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. (p) Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Aſiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the neceſſity of going to Rome, to implore the republick's aid againſt thoſe Barbarians. Another ſtill more ſpecious reaſon had obliged him to make that voyage. It was neceſſary to congratulate the Romans upon their laſt victory, and to receive the applauſes he deſerved for the part he had taken in the war againſt Perſeus, and for having ſhared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had approved, in the army in Macedonia, a conſtant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a moſt honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All theſe honours, the real cauſe of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not ſuggeſted to him. The greateſt part of the Romans had no longer any eſteem or affection for Eumenes. His ſecret negotiations with Perſeus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their ſide, and that he only waited an occaſion to declare againſt them. Full of this prejudice, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Romans, in their private converſations with Attalus, adviſed him not to mention the buſineſs his brother had ſent him to treat; but to ſpeak ſolely of what related to himſelf. They gave him to underſtand, that the ſenate, to whom Eumenes was become ſuſpected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perſeus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himſelf, upon whom they could rely as an aſſured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and theſe detached lines may ſerve to unveil it upon other occaſions, when more attentive to conceal itſelf.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject ſuch pleaſing hopes, when they preſented themſelves to him without being ſolicited. He liſtened therefore to theſe diſcourſes and this propoſal, and the rather, becauſe they came from ſome of the principal perſons of Rome, whoſe wiſdom he eſteemed, and whoſe probity he reſpected. The affair went ſo far, that he promiſed them to demand in the ſenate, that part of his brother's kingdom ſhould be given to him.

Attalus

Attalus had a phyſician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, ſuſpecting his brother, had ſent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counſel, if he ſhould happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very inſinuating, and well adapted to perſuaſion. Having either diſcovered, or learnt from Attalus himſelf, the deſign that had been inſtilled into him, he took the advantage of ſome favourable moments to open himſelf to him. He repreſented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itſelf, and but very lately eſtabliſhed, had ſubſiſted, and been improved ſolely by the union and good underſtanding of the brothers who poſſeſſed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male iſſue, (for the ſon he had afterwards, and who ſucceeded him, was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was therefore inconteſtable; and that, conſidering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for ſuch ſucceſſion could not be very remote. And wherefore then ſhould he anticipate and haſten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would ſoon happen in a juſt and natural manner? Did he deſire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? if he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by ſuch diviſion, and expoſed to the enterprizes of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the conſequence. That if he propoſed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private perſon, or ſend him, at his years, into baniſhment? or, in a word, would he cauſe him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but ſuch thoughts muſt give him horror. That, not to ſpeak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal diſcord, the recent example of Perſeus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the ſcepter from his brother, by ſhedding his blood, purſued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the ſame ſcepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preſide there, the witneſſes and avengers of his guilt. That he was aſſured, the very perſons, who leſs out of friendſhip for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at preſent ſuch pernicious counſels, would be the firſt to praiſe his tender and conſtant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached

to him to the laſt. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expoſe the kingdom of Pergamus in the preſent conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of diſcord in this manner between brothers! Of what value muſt a ſincere, prudent, and diſintereſted friend appear at ſuch a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give thoſe who approach him the liberty of ſpeaking freely, and without reſerve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wiſe remonſtrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the ſenate, without ſpeaking againſt his brother, or demanding a diviſion of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himſelf with congratulating the ſenate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modeſtly diſplayed the zeal and affection with which he had ſerved in the war againſt Perſeus. He deſired, that they would ſend ambaſſadors to check the inſolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former ſtate; and concluded with requeſting, thas the inveſtiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perſeus, and the poſſeſſion diſputed with him by Eumenes.

The ſenate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to ſpeak in particular of his pretenſions upon part of his brother's dominions, promiſed beforehand to ſend ambaſſadors according to his demand, and made the prince the uſual preſents. They promiſed beſides to put him into poſſeſſion of the two cities, as he deſired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the ſenate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promiſe they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They ſent however, an embaſſy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different inſtructions to thoſe demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the maſk entirely at this time, and ſhewed an aſpect very unlike the frankneſs and probity of their anceſtors.

The ſenate ſome days *(q)* after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noiſe. They were at firſt refuſed to be heard, as having rendered themſelves unworthy of that honour

(q) Polyb. Legat. xciii—xcix, c, & civ. Liv. I. xlv. n. 20—25.

honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war againſt them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, ſent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the ſenate with great difficulty, they appeared there as ſuppliants, dreſſed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Aſtymedes ſpoke, and with a voice interrupted with ſighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to ſhew at firſt his deſire to juſtify it. He knew, that it had juſtly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confeſſed its faults; he called to mind the indiſcreet embaſſy, which the inſolent pride of the orator who ſpoke had rendered ſtill more criminal: but he begged the ſenate to make ſome difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private perſons diſavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He repreſented, that there were no republick nor city, that did not include ſome bad members. That after all, there was no other crime objected to them but words; fooliſh indeed, raſh, extravagant (which he confeſſed to be the characteriſticks and failings of his nation) but ſuch as wiſe perſons ſeldom lay much ſtreſs upon, or puniſh with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that ſpeak with little reſpect of his divinity. "But," ſaid he, "the neutrality, obſerv-
"ed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof
"of our enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in
"the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is
"puniſhed as the action itſelf? But let your ſeverity be car-
"ried to that exceſs, at moſt the puniſhment can only fall on
"thoſe who have had this intention, and then the majority
"of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality
"and inaction make us all criminal; ought the real ſervices
"we have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to be
"deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omiſſion im-
"puted to us in the laſt? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perſeus
"bear witneſs now in our cauſe. The voices of the two firſt
"will certainly be for us, and abſolve us; and for the third,
"at moſt, and in the ſevereſt ſenſe, the ſentence muſt appear
"doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this
"ſtate of the queſtion, paſs a fatal decree againſt Rhodes;
"for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it
"ſhall ſubſiſt any longer, or be entirely deſtroyed? You may
"declare war againſt us; but not a ſingle Rhodian will take
"up

* Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum eſſe, ut ſiquis vellet inimicum perire, ſi nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. *Liv.*

" up arms againſt you. If you perſiſt in your reſentment, we " demand time to go and report our deputation, at Rhodes, " and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free " perſons, will embark, with all our eſtates and effects; we " will abandon our houſhold gods, as well publick as pri- " vate, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our " gold and ſilver, and all we have, at your feet, we will de- " liver up ourſelves, our wives and our children, to your diſ- " cretion. We will ſuffer here before your eyes, whatever " you ſhall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is con- " demned to be plundered and ſet on fire, at leaſt we ſhall " ſpare ourſelves the ſight of that calamity. You may by " your reſolves declare yourſelves our enemies; but there is " a ſecret ſenſe in the bottom of our hearts, that declares " quite the contrary, and aſſures us, that whatever hoſtilities " you may act againſt us, you will never find us otherwiſe " than friends and ſervants."

After this diſcourſe, the deputies proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the ſenators with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the ſenate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had ſerved in Macedonia in quality of conſuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had moſt experienced their fooliſh pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much againſt them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated cenſor, known by the ſeverity of his character, which often roſe to hardneſs of heart, was ſoftened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and ſpoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his diſcourſe, becauſe it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, De Originibus, wherein he had inſerted his own orations.

The world has reaſon to regret the loſs of ſo valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius *(r)* has preſerved ſome fragments of this diſcourſe of Cato's; by which it appears, he made uſe of almoſt the ſame reaſons with the ambaſſadors of Rhodes. I ſhall cite ſome paſſages of it at the bottom of the page, to aſſiſt the reader in knowing and diſtinguiſhing the manly and energical ſtyle, which characterized the Roman eloquence in thoſe ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the eloquence of words.

Cato * begins his diſcourſe by repreſenting to the Romans, that

(r) Liv. l. vii. c. 5.

* Scio ſolere pleriſque hominibus rebus ſecundis atque proſperis animum excellere, ſuperbiam atque ferociam augeſcere atque creſcere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ eſt, qui hæc res

that they ought not to abandon themſelves to the extravagance of exceſſive joy. That proſperity generally excites pride and inſolence. That he apprehends, in the preſent caſe, they may form reſolutions, which may draw ſome misfortune upon Rome, and cauſe the frivolous joy, to which they give themſelves up, to vaniſh like a dream. "Adverſity," ſays he, "in humbling the ſpirit, reſtores us to our reaſon, and "teaches us what is neceſſary to be done. Proſperity, on the "contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy "it occaſions, and makes us loſe ſight of the meaſures, which "a calm ſituation of mind would enable us to diſcern, and "execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am abſolutely of opi-"nion, that we ſhould defer the deciſion of this affair, till "having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we "may be maſters of ourſelves, and capable of deliberating "with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes "the Rhodians were far from deſiring that the Romans "ſhould have conquered Perſeus; but that they had ſuch "ſentiments in common with all other ſtates; ſentiments, "which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, "but from the love of their own liberty; for which they "had juſt cauſe to fear, when there ſhould be none in a con-"dition to diſpute empire with us, and we ſhould become "abſolute maſters of all nations. For the reſt the Rhodians "did not aid Perſeus. Their whole * crime, by the conſent "of their moſt violent accuſers, is to have intended to declare "war againſt us. But how long has the will, the intention "only, been a crime? Is there any one amongſt us, that "would be willing to ſubject himſelf to this rule? For "my part, I am ſure, I would not. The † Rhodians, "it is ſaid, are proud. I ſhould be very ſorry that my "children could juſtly make me that reproach. But "pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it "become

res tam ſecunde proceſſit, nequid in conſulendo adverſi eveniat, quod noſtras ſecundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxurioſe eveniat. Adverſæ res ſe domant, & docent quid opus ſit facto: ſecundæ res lætitia tranſverſum trudere ſolent à recte conſulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico ſuadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in poteſtatem noſtram redeamus.

* Qui acerrime adverſus eos dicit, ita dicit; hoſtes voluiſſe fieri. Et quis tandem eſt noſtrûm, qui, quod ad ſeſe attinet, æquum cenſeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluiſſe? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet nolim.

† Rhodienſes ſuperbos eſſe aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minime deci velim. Sint ſane ſuperbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne iraſcimini, ſiquis ſuperbior eſt quam nos?

" become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than " we are?"

The opinion of ſo grave and venerable a ſenator, as Cato, prevented a war againſt the Rhodians. The anſwer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in ſuſpence. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Thoſe provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of puniſhment. They were ordered alſo to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the firſt for two hundred talents (about 25,000l.) of Ptolemy's general, and the ſecond had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from thoſe two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents (or 15,000 l.) At the ſame time the ſenate granted the iſland of Delos an exemption from cuſtoms, which conſiderably diminiſhed the revenues of the Rhodians. For inſtead of a million of drachma's (about 25,000 l. ſterling) to which the revenue from thoſe cuſtoms amounted before, it paid afterwards only 150,000 (about three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterling.)

The ſenate's anſwer, having diſpelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms againſt the republick, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to inſenſible of ſmall ones. How hard ſoever thoſe orders were, they ſubmitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the ſame time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of * 10,000 pieces of gold, and choſe their admiral Theodotus to preſent it. He had orders to ſolicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almoſt 140 years they had ſhared in the moſt glorious expeditions of that republick; which was a fetch of their politicks. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own maſters, they might either aid the kings in diſtreſs, or be ſupported by them upon occaſion. In the preſent conjuncture, they earneſtly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to ſecure themſelves againſt other powers, for they were in no apprehenſions of any beſides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all ſuſpicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republick. The alliance was not, however, granted them

* *This might amount to about* 6000 *l. reckoning the piece of gold* (χρυσᾶς) *at twelve ſhillings, or thereabouts.*

them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm ſolicitations. Tiberius Graechus, at his return from Aſia, whither he had been ſent in quality of commiſſioner, to examine into its condition, was of great ſervice to them upon this occaſion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the ſenate's orders, and had condemned the partiſans of Perſeus to death. After ſo favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before obſerved, (s) that the Ætolians had preſented themſelves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The ſubject of their complaints was, that Lyciſchus and Tiſippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whoſe intereſts they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death 550 of the principal perſons of the nation, whoſe ſole crime was, their having ſeemed to favour Perſeus; that a great number of others had been ſent into baniſhment, and that the eſtates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accuſers. The enquiry was confined to knowing, not on which ſide the injuſtice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perſeus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been baniſhed, juſtly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was juſt? or, if not, why were thoſe acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This ſentence gave great terror to all who had expreſſed any inclination for Perſeus, and exceedingly increaſed the pride and inſolence of the partiſans of Rome. The principal perſons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themſelves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppreſſive ſubjection. A third kind of citizens, in oppoſition to the other two, obſerved a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publickly aſſerting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much eſteemed and beloved in their ſeveral

(s) Liv. l. xlv. n. 28—32.

ſeveral cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embaſſies, honours, and rewards, were conferred ſolely upon thoſe who eſpouſed the Roman intereſt, after the defeat of Perſeus; and they employed their credit in utterly deſtroying all thoſe who differed from themſelves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commiſſioners, appointed by the ſenate to regulate affairs. They gave them to underſtand, that beſides thoſe who had declared publickly for Perſeus, there were abundance of others, ſecretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of aſſerting liberty, influenced the whole people againſt them, and that thoſe cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly ſubject to the Romans, unleſs, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of thoſe, who had only the intereſt of the commonwealth at heart, was fully eſtabliſhed. The ten commiſſioners perfectly reliſhed thoſe reaſons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What juſtice could be expected from an aſſembly that was determined to conſider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all that ſhould declare themſelves their accuſers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We ſee here to what lengths ambition and the luſt of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all ſenſe of duty and decency, and induce them to ſacrifice juſtice, as well as every thing elſe, when it oppoſes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occaſion. The Roman general, to whom a liſt had been given of all thoſe who were ſuſpected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commiſſioners were ſent alſo into Aſia, in order to take informations againſt ſuch as, in publick or private, had favoured Perſeus.

Of all the ſmall ſtates of Greece (t), none gave the Roman republick ſo much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was compoſed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obſtacle to their ambitious deſigns, eſpecially if they ſhould join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, ſpared no pains to weaken it, by introducing diviſions, and

(t) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

and gaining creatures, whom they raiſed by their credit to all employments, and by whoſe means they decided in all the aſſemblies of the league. We have ſeen what paſſed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now ſpeak of, the Romans gave the laſt ſtroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perſeus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had ſold himſelf, the ruin of the partiſans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldneſs to accuſe by name all thoſe to the ten commiſſioners, whom he ſuſpected to have had any inclination to ſupport Perſeus. They did not think it would ſuffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other ſtates, that they ſhould ſend ſuch of their citizens to Rome, as were accuſed of having favoured Perſeus; but they ſent two deputies to declare in perſon that order to the league. Two reaſons induced them to act in this manner. The firſt was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, ſhould refuſe obedience to the letters that ſhould be wrote them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the riſque of their lives in the aſſembly: the ſecond, becauſe in the letters, which had been found amongſt Perſeus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accuſed Achæans.

The two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injuſtice than the other, (Pauſanias does not ſay which) complained in the aſſembly, that many of the moſt powerful perſons of the league had aſſiſted Perſeus againſt the Romans, and demanded, that they ſhould be condemned as deſerving death, after which he ſhould name them. The whole aſſembly was ſhocked at this propoſal, and cried out on all ſides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn perſons before it was declared who they were, and preſſed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated inſtances to explain himſelf, he replied, at the ſuggeſtion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themſelves guilty of that crime. Xeon, upon that, who was a perſon of great credit, and very much reſpected by the league, ſpoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the "chief magiſtrate of the league; I proteſt, that I have never "acted in any thing contrary to the intereſts of the Romans, "which I am ready to prove either in the aſſembly of the "Achæans, or at Rome before the ſenate." The Roman took

took hold of this expreſſion, as favourable to his deſigns, and decreed, that all thoſe who had been charged by Callicrates, ſhould be ſent to Rome, in order to juſtify themſelves there. The whole aſſembly was in the higheſt affliction upon this ſentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his ſon Alexander. Thoſe princes, though irreſiſtibly powerful, never conceived the thought of cauſing ſuch as oppoſed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may juſtly be called tyrannical, cauſed above a thouſand of the moſt conſiderable citizens of the Achæan league to be ſeized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and deteſtation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and ſhunned his preſence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the publick baths after him, till the water had been firſt emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated hiſtorian, was of the number of theſe exiles. We have ſeen Lycortas, his father, diſtinguiſh himſelf by the fortitude and conſtancy with which he ſupported the intereſts of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his ſon. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great ſtateſman, for his maſter; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the moſt able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under theſe tutors he imbibed thoſe learned leſſons of government and war, which he practiſed himſelf, and has tranſmitted to poſterity in his writings.

As ſoon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greateſt men of the republick cultivate his friendſhip. He was particularly intimate with the two ſons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldeſt of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngeſt into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, ſon of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged ſufficiently, in the concluſion of the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendſhip of Polybius with this ſecond ſon of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of ſuch a friend, and knew how to apply his leſſons and counſels to the beſt advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory, or, at leaſt, collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the ſenate, without hearing or examining their cauſe, ſuppoſing, without any foundation, and contrary to the moſt known truth, that they had been tried and ſentenced in the aſſembly of the Achæans, baniſhed them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans *(u)*, ſurprized and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, ſent deputies to Rome, to demand that the ſenate would vouchſafe to take cognizance of their cauſe. They were anſwered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themſelves. Upon that reply, the Achæans ſent back the ſame deputies to Rome, (with Euræas at their head) to proteſt again before the ſenate, that thoſe Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in conſequence, entered the ſenate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accuſation, and not ſuffer the accuſed to periſh, without paſſing ſentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wiſhed the ſenate would examine the affair themſelves, and make known the guilty; but, in caſe their other great affairs ſhould not afford them leiſure for ſuch enquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them juſtice in ſuch a manner, as ſhould evidence the greatneſs of their averſion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the ſenate was very much at a loſs how to anſwer it. On the one ſide, they did not think it proper to try the cauſe, for the accuſation was groundleſs; on the other, to diſmiſs the exiles, without paſſing judgment upon them, was to loſe irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The ſenate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more ſubmiſſive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other ſtates to the partiſans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles conſiſted with theirs, or the intereſt of their country. This anſwer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a conſternation. An univerſal mourning ſucceeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accuſed Achæans, and that their baniſhment was perpetual.

However *(x)*, they ſent new deputies, with inſtructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as ſuppliants, and as a favour; leſt in taking upon them their defence, they ſhould ſeem

(u) Polyb. Legat. cv. *(x)* Ibid. cxxi.

ſeem ever ſo little to oppoſe the will of the ſenate. There did not eſcape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and ſufficiently reſerved. Notwithſtanding which, the ſenate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would perſiſt in the regulations already made.

The Achæans *(y)* would not be rejected, and appointed ſeveral deputations at different times, but with no better ſucceſs; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to perſevere thus in their applications to the ſenate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated inſtances had no other effect than to place the injuſtice of the Romans in full light, they could not be conſidered as unneceſſary. Many of the ſenators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend home the exiles.

The Achæans, *(z)* having received advice of this favourable diſpoſition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a laſt deputation. The exiles had been already baniſhed ſeventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the ſenate; ſome being for their return into their country, and their being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and others oppoſing it. Scipio, at the requeſt of Polybius, had ſolicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave ſenator, riſing up to ſpeak in his turn: "To ſee us," ſaid he, "diſpute a whole day, whether ſome poor old men of "Greece ſhall be interred by our grave-diggers, or thoſe of "their own country, would not one believe, that we had no-"thing at all to do?" That pleaſantry was all that was wanting to make the ſenate aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and to determine it at laſt to ſend back the exiles into Peloponneſus. Polybius was for deſiring, that they might be reinſtated in all the honours and dignities they poſſeſſed before their baniſhment; but before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thought proper to ſound Cato upon it, who told him, ſmiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wiſdom "of Ulyſſes. You are for returning into the cave of the "Cyclops for ſome miſerable tatters you have left there." *(a)* The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the 1000 that left it, only about 300 remained. Polybius made no uſe of this permiſſion, or if he did, he ſoon rejoined Scipio, ſeeing three years after he was with him at the ſiege of Carthage.

SECT.

(y) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.
(z) Plut. in Cato. Conſ. p. 341. *(a)* A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

SECT. II. *Mean flatteries of* PRUSIAS, *king of Bithynia, in the ſenate.* EUMENES, *become ſuſpected by the Romans, is not ſuffered to enter Rome.* ARIARATHES, *king of Cappadocia, dies, and is ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name. Death of* EUMENES. ATTALUS, *his brother, ſucceeds him, as guardian to his ſon, then very young. War between* ATTALUS *and* PRUSIAS. *The latter having formed the deſign of putting his ſon* NICOMEDES *to death, is killed by him. Embaſſy of three celebrated Athenian philoſophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marſeilles. Digreſſion upon the city of Marſeilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perſeus, new embaſſies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to juſtify or excuſe themſelves for the attachment they ſeemed to have to that prince; and ſome came to lay complaints before the ſenate in regard to ſome allies. We have ſeen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this ſection I ſhall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Pruſias, king of Bithynia, and ſome other particular affairs.

Pruſias, being come to Rome, *(b)* to make the ſenate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good ſucceſs of the war againſt Perſeus, diſhonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the ſenate for that purpoſe, he appeared with his head ſhaved, and with the cap, habit, ſhoes and ſtockings of a ſlave made free; and ſaluting the deputies, *You ſee*, ſaid he, *one of your freed-men ready to fulfil whatſoever you ſhall pleaſe to command, and to conform entirely to all your cuſtoms.* When he entered the ſenate, he ſtood at the door, facing the ſenators who ſat, and proſtrating himſelf, kiſſed the threſhold. Afterwards, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, *I ſalute you, gods preſervers*, cried he; and went on with a diſcourſe ſuitable to that prelude. Polybius ſays, that he ſhould be aſhamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had poſſeſſed themſelves without any right or pretenſion. He then recommended his ſon Nicomedes to them. All he aſked was granted him; only commiſſioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in queſtion.

(b) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

queſtion. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject ſubmiſſions of Pruſias; of which he pretends the Roman hiſtorians ſay nothing: he contents himſelf with mentioning, in the concluſion, part of what Polybius had ſaid before, and with ſome reaſon. For that baſe deportment at leaſt diſhonoured the ſenate as much, who ſuffered, as the prince who acted it.

Pruſias had ſcarce left Rome *(c)*, when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the ſenate ſome trouble. Eumenes, in the war againſt Perſeus, had behaved in ſuch a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reaſon for violent ſuſpicions; but no certain proofs againſt him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themſelves under the neceſſity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whoſe character they were little acquainted with. To avoid theſe inconveniencies, the ſenate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republick, they forbad all kings in general to enter that city, and cauſed that ordinance to be ſignified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loſs to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies, *(d)* and cooled the affection of his allies. Pruſias ſent an ambaſſador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held ſecret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all thoſe injuriouſly who ſeemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the ſenate's decrees in their behalf. That people had alſo ſent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated ſeveral times, as well as Pruſias. The ſenate did not yet declare themſelves. They contented themſelves with aiding and ſupporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmoſt of their power, without doing any manifeſt injuſtice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, ſent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither, to anſwer the accuſations he was charged with. The apology they made ſeemed finally to confute all complaints againſt the king, and the ſenate were ſo well ſatisfied with it, that they

(c) Polyb. Legat. xcvii. *(d)* A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Legat. xcvii, cii, civ, cv, cvi, cxix, cxxi.

they ſent them back into Aſia, laden with honours and preſents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived againſt their brother. The ſenate diſpatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themſelves ſecretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting ſome deſign againſt the Romans.

Sulpicius *(e)* acted in this commiſſion with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring againſt Eumenes. When he arrived in Aſia, he cauſed all the cities to be informed, that ſuch as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accuſations people thought fit to form againſt Eumenes: a liberty that ſet all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

(f) Tiberius Gracchus, whom the ſenate ſent the following year into Aſia upon the ſame account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from thoſe two kings, and induced him to make his report to the ſenate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the ſiſter of Eumenes. That prince died ſome time after. His ſon Ariarathes, *(g)* ſurnamed Philopator, ſucceeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to reſign his kingdom to him, to which his ſon would never conſent; from whence he was called *Philopator*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As ſoon as the young king aſcended the throne *(h)*, he ſent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans ſhould be renewed, which was granted him, with praiſes.

Some time after, *(i)* notwithſtanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers ſet in his place, who was a ſuppoſed ſon, named Holofernes. *(k)* Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The uſurper and Demetrius ſent their ambaſſadors alſo thither. The ſenate decreed, that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. It was a policy ſufficiently frequent

(e) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145. *(f)* A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. *(g)* A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895. *(h)* Polyb. Legat. cxxi. *(i)* A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxvi. *(k)* A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and ſow the ſeeds of an eternal diviſion between them. Attalus, in the firſt year of his reign, re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always ſuſpected by the Romans, and almoſt continually at war with Pruſias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight * years. He left for his ſucceſſor *(l)* in the kingdom, his ſon Attalus, ſurnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, ſiſter of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his ſon, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius beſtows great praiſes on Eumenes. The body of that prince, ſays he, was weak and delicate, his ſoul great, and abounding with the moſt noble ſentiments. He gave place to none of the kings *(m)* his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleneſs of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, conſiſted only of a very ſmall number of cities, which ſcarce deſerved that name. He rendered it ſo powerful, that it might have diſputed pre-eminence with almoſt all the greateſt kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; ſtill uſing the words of Polybius. Every thing was the reſult of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondneſs for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private perſons, than any prince. To finiſh his character, he poſſeſſed ſo fully the art of engaging the reſpect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themſelves, and ſhared with him in the functions of the ſovereignty, they never failed in point of ſubmiſſion, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his ſervice, aſſiſted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find ſuch an example of authority over bothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought

(l) Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. *(m)* Polyb. Exempt. Virt. & Vit. p. 166.

* *Strabo ſays, he reigned forty-three years, but that is preſumed to be an error.*

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or, at leaſt, conſiderably augmented it: but I ſhall ſpeak of that elſewhere.

The diviſion (n) which had almoſt perpetually ſubſiſted between Pruſias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who ſucceeded the latter. Pruſias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of ſeizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the ſtatues and temples of the gods; burning and deſtroying all before him in his march. (o) Attalus ſent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate, who ſent ſeveral embaſſies at different times to forbid Pruſias to continue the war againſt Attalus; but he eluded thoſe orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to ſeize the Roman ambaſſador and Attalus. His deſign was diſcovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the leſs upon that account. Rome at other times would have puniſhed it with the deſtruction of his kingdom. At this ſhe was contented with ſending ten commiſſioners, with inſtructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Pruſias to make Attalus ſatisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had aſſembled numerous armies both by ſea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commiſſioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After ſome conferences upon the preſent affair, they ſet out for Bithynia, where they declared to Pruſias the orders they were charged with from the ſenate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions preſcribed him; but refuſed to comply with moſt of the reſt. The commiſſioners, exaſperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and reſuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Pruſias in terrible apprehenſions. They adviſed Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the firſt to commit hoſtilities; and ſome of them returned to Rome, to inform the ſenate of the rebellion of Pruſias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commiſſioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and ſign a treaty of peace, which they preſented him. This treaty imported, that Pruſias ſhould give immediately twenty deckt

(n) A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxii, cxxxv, cxxxvi. (o) A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

ſhips to Attalus; that he ſhould pay him 500 talents (500,000 crowns) in the ſpace of twenty years; and that the two kings ſhould keep within the bounds of their dominions, ſuch as they ſtood before the war; that Pruſias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of ſome neighbouring cities, which were named, ſhould pay them an 100 talents, (an 100,000 crowns.) When he had accepted and ſigned theſe conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by ſea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occaſioned by the differences between Attalus and Pruſias.

Attalus the younger, *(p)* ſon of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two ſtates, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himſelf known to the ſenate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them alſo for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the ſenate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours ſuitable to his years; after which he ſet out for his dominions.

Pruſias *(q)* alſo ſent afterwards his ſon Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly conſidered there, he gave him inſtructions to demand, that the ſenate would remit him the remainder of the ſum he was to pay to Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embaſſy, to whom he had given ſecret orders to diſpatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a ſecond wife. The favour demanded by Pruſias was refuſed, Attalus's ambaſſadors demonſtrating, that the whole ſum was far from being equal to the loſſes his maſter had ſuſtained from him. Menas, inſtead of executing the horrid commiſſion he was charged with, diſcovered the whole to Nicomedes. *(r)* The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous deſigns of his father. Supported by the aſſiſtance of Attalus, he revolted againſt him, and drew over the greateſt part of the people into his party; for Pruſias was univerſally hated for his oppreſſions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his ſubjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was ſlain by ſoldiers ſent by Nicomedes, or, according to ſome, by Nicomedes himſelf. What horrors on each ſide! Pruſias was called *the hunter*, and

(p) Polyb. Legat. cxl. *(q)* A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 4. *(r)* A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

and had reigned at leaſt ſix-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

This king of Bithynia's perſon *(s)* had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in ſize but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but ſoft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and moſt of all, amongſt the Bithynians. Polite learning, philoſophy, and all liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In ſhort, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his ſubjects, upon the firſt dawn of hope, joined with the utmoſt ardour in meaſures againſt him, and to puniſh him in the ſame manner he had governed them.

I have deferred ſpeaking of two embaſſies, which arrived at Rome very near the ſame time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a ſentence paſſed on them by the Sicyonians *(t)*, but under the authority of the Roman ſenate, in a fine of 500 talents, for having laid waſte the lands of the city of Oropus, ſent to demand the remiſſion of that fine. The ambaſſadors were three celebrated philoſophers; Carneades, of the ſect of the Academicks; Diogenes, of the Stoicks; and Critolaus, of the Peripateticks. The taſte for eloquence and philoſophy had not yet made its way ſo far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are ſpeaking, that it began to ſpread there, and the reputation of theſe three philoſophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taſte for the ſciences, made it their honour and amuſement to viſit them, and were ſtruck with admiration in hearing them, eſpecially Carneades, whoſe lively and graceful eloquence, in which ſolidity and ornament exalted each other, tranſported and enchanted them. It was univerſally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and ſoftening the moſt violent paſſions by his eloquence, inſpired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleaſures and employments, to abandon themſelves wholly to philoſophy. He had for his auditors all the moſt conſiderable perſons of Rome. His diſcourſes, tranſlated into Latin by one of the ſenators, were in all hands. All

(s) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174. *(t)* A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

Rome ſaw, with great joy, their children apply themſelves to the Grecian learning, and inſeparable from thoſe wonderful men. Cato only ſeemed ſorry for it; apprehending, that this taſte for polite learning would extinguiſh that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of ſpeaking, to that of acting well. The example of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, educated at the ſame time under the care of Polybius, in a taſte for the ſciences, demonſtrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the ſenators for keeping the ambaſſadors ſo long in the city, and having cauſed the affair that brought them thither to be diſpatched, he haſtened their departure. By a decree of the ſenate, the fine in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the 500 talents reduced to 100.

The other embaſſy was ſent by the (u) people of Marſeilles. They had already been often haraſſed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now ſpeak, they were reduced to the laſt extremities, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate. They came to a reſolution to ſend deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to ſentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their inſolence ſo far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their perſons. The ſenate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the conſul Quintius Opimius march immediately againſt them with an army. He laid ſiege to the city (x) where the inſult had been offered to the Roman ambaſſadors, took it by ſtorm, made ſlaves of the inhabitants, and ſent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be puniſhed there according to their deſerts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in ſeveral battles. The victor diſtributed all the conquered lands amongſt the people of Marſeilles. He ordered the Ligurians to ſend hoſtages to Marſeilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from moleſting the people of Marſeilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marſeilles in extreme conſideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had conſtantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin (y) of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes ſent Harpagus to beſiege

(u) Polyb. Legat. cxxxi, & cxxxiv. (x) *Egitna.* (y) Herod. l. i. c. 164. Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 3.

beſiege it, the inhabitants, rather than ſubmit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as ſo many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having caſt a maſs of red-hot iron into the ſea, they all engaged themſelves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron ſhould ſwim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coaſt of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they ſettled there, by the conſent of the king of the country, and built a city ſince called Marſeilles. This foundation is ſaid to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, about the ſecond year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodneſs, being dead, his ſon (z) did not ſhew them ſo much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to underſtand, that thoſe ſtrangers, whom he had received into his country, as gueſts and ſuppliants, might one day make themſelves maſters of it by right of conqueſt. The fable of the bitch was made uſe of upon this occaſion, that aſked her companion to lend her her houſe only for eight days, till ſhe had brought forth her whelps; then by great intreaties obtained a ſecond term to bring them up; and at laſt, when they were grown large and ſtrong, made herſelf abſolute miſtreſs and proprietor of the place, from whence ſhe could never afterwards be expelled. The Marſeillians had, in conſequence, at firſt a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet poſſeſſion of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In proceſs of time they ſettled ſeveral (a) colonies, and built ſeveral cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arſenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new ſettlements (b) contributed to the ſpreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occaſioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient ruſticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to aſſume more gentle manners. Inſtead of breathing nothing but war, they accuſtomed themſelves to the obſervance of the laws of a wiſe government. They learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and

(z) Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 4. (a) Strab. p. 180. (b) Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 4.

to plant olives*. Hence ſo ſurprizing an alteration enſued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been ſaid, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The *(c)* inhabitants of the new city made very wiſe laws for its polity and government, which was ariſtocratical, that is to ſay, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was compoſed of 600 ſenators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number 15 were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preſide in the aſſemblies, in quality of principal magiſtrates.

The right of hoſpitality *(d)* was in ſingular eſtimation amongſt the Marſeillians, and practiſed by them with the moſt exalted humanity. To maintain the ſecurity of the aſylum they gave to ſtrangers, no perſon was ſuffered to enter the city with arms. Certain perſons were placed at the gates, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to ſuch as might have been for introducing ſloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to baniſh all double-dealing, falſhood, and fraud.

They piqued themſelves *(e)* eſpecially upon ſobriety, modeſty, and frugality. The moſt conſiderable portion amongſt them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold, that is to ſay, very near 100 piſtoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dreſs, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus *(f)*, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government obſerved at Marſeilles in his time. "That city," ſays he, "ſtedfaſtly retaining the † an-"cient ſeverity of manners, excluded from their theatre "thoſe comedians whoſe pieces generally turn upon the ſub-"ject of unlawful love." The reaſon given for this maxim is ſtill finer and more remarkable than the maxim itſelf. "Leſt" adds the author, "a familiarity with ſuch ſort of ſhows "ſhould make the people more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies thoſe indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to ceaſe the ſame day by a domeſtick ſacrifice,

(c) Strab. l. iv. p. 179. *(d)* Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. *(e)* Strab. l. iv. p. 181. *(f)* Lib. ii. c. 6.

* Adeo magnus & hominibus & rebus impoſitus eſt nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigraſſe, ſed Gallia in Græciam tranſlata videretur. *Juſtin.*

† Eadem civitas ſeveritatis cuſtos acerrima eſt: nullum aditum in ſcenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte ſtuprorum continent actus, ne talia ſpectandi conſuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam ſumat.

ſacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceaſed *. "For is it conſiſtent to abandon ourſelves "to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, "for not having thought fit to ſhare his immortality with "us?"

Tacitus has a paſſage upon the city of Marſeilles highly in its praiſe; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having ſpoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of † Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him paſs the moſt early years of his youth in the ſtudy of thoſe arts and ſciences that ſuited his birth and age; he adds, "What "had preſerved him from the dangers and diſorders, to "which youth is generally expoſed, was, beſides his own "genius and diſpoſition, the good fortune of having from "his infancy the city of Marſeilles for his ſchool, in the man-"ners of whoſe inhabitants the politeneſs of the Greeks, "and the ſimplicity and reſerve of the provinces were happily "united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipſius bonam integramque naturam, quòd ſtatim parvulus ſedem ac magiſtram ſtudiorum Maſſiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parſimonia miſtum ac bene compoſitum.*

From what I have ſaid may be ſeen, that Marſeilles was become a celebrated ſchool for politeneſs, wiſdom, and virtue, and, at the ſame time, for all arts and ſciences. Eloquence, philoſophy, phyſick, mathematicks, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publickly profeſſed there. This city produced *(g)* the moſt ancient of the learned men of the Weſt, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and aſtronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They perſevered conſtantly in cultivating the arts and ſciences with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Auguſtus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marſeilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itſelf; which is ſaying a great deal. We have already ſeen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the hiſtorian.

(g) Voſſ. in Hiſtor. Græc.

* Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem ſuam nobiſcum partiri noluerit?

† Mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ caſtitatis. In hujus ſinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honeſtarum artium cultum, puericiam adoleſcentiamque tranſegit. *Tacit. in Agricol.* c. iv.

The Marſeillians diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the wiſdom of their government, than by their capacity and taſte for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republick. * "I "am aſſured," ſays he, "that not only in Greece, but all "other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wiſe "polity eſtabliſhed at Marſeilles. That city, ſo remote "from the country, manners, and language of all other "Greeks, ſituate in Gaul, in the midſt of barbarous nations "that ſurround it on all ſides, is ſo prudently directed by the "counſels of its elders, that it is more eaſy to praiſe, than "imitate, the wiſdom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental *(h)* rule of their politicks, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whoſe manners their own were more conformable, than to thoſe of the Barbarians around them. Beſides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common intereſts; that union enabling each party to make powerful diverſions on both ſides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great ſervices at all times, and alſo received conſiderable aids from them upon many occaſions.

Juſtin *(i)* relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marſeillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that diſaſter of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themſelves to fruitleſs tears. Out of the gold and ſilver, either of the publick or private perſons, they raiſed the ſum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and ſent it to Rome. The *(k)* Romans, infinitely affected with ſo noble an act of generoſity, granted Marſeilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of ſitting amongſt the ſenators at the publick ſhows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marſeilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill ſucceſſes which they experienced

(h) Strab. l. iv. p. 180. *(i)* Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 5. *(k)* Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

* Cujus ego civitatis diſciplinam atque gravitatem, non ſolum Græciæ, ſed haud ſcio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, diſciplinis, linguaque diviſa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, ſic optimatum conſilio gubernatur ut omnes ejus inſtituta laudare facilius poſſint, quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Flacco*, n. lxiii.

rienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, *(l)* against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteeen senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They *(m)* suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

(l) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

* Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiorem habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium, & C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.

(m) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

SECT. III. ANDRISCUS, *who gave himſelf out for the ſon of* PERSEUS, *makes himſelf maſter of Macedonia, and cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king. The prætor* JUVENTIUS *attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army.* METELLUS, *who ſucceeds him, retrieves that loſs. The uſurper is overthrown, taken, and ſent to Rome. A ſecond and third uſurper are alſo defeated.*

FIFTEEN or ſixteen years *(n)* after the defeat and death of Perſeus, Andriſcus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Aſia Minor, a perſon of the meaneſt birth, giving himſelf out for the ſon of Perſeus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a ſtory in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he paſſed, pretending that he was the ſon of Perſeus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had cauſed him to be ſecretly brought up at Adramytta, that in caſe of ill fortune in the war againſt the Romans, ſome ſhoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perſeus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the perſon who paſſed for his father, finding himſelf at the point of death, had revealed the ſecret to his wife, and entruſted her with a writing, ſigned by Perſeus with his own hand, which atteſted all that has been ſaid; which writing ſhe was to deliver to him (Philip) as ſoon as he ſhould attain to years of diſcretion. He added, that her huſband having conjured her abſolutely to conceal the affair till then, ſhe had been moſt faithful in keeping the ſecret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time: preſſing him to quit the country, before the report ſhould reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perſeus, leſt he ſhould cauſe him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he ſhould be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia riſe in his favour. When he ſaw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whoſe ſiſter Perſeus had eſpouſed. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expreſſed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated

(n) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epit. Liv. l. xlviii.—l. Zonar. ex Dione, l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a ſtrict guard upon him, or to confine him cloſe. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his eſcape from Rome. Having found means to raiſe a conſiderable army amongſt the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the ſake of delivering themſelves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himſelf maſter of Macedonia, either by conſent or force, and aſſumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this firſt conqueſt, which had coſt him little, he attacked Theſſaly, and ſubjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to ſeem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Naſica to go thither, and appeaſe this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commiſſion. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his meaſures by perſuaſion; and, if he ſhould find it neceſſary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wiſdom, and executing it with valour. As ſoon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the ſtate of affairs in Macedonia and Theſſaly, he gave the ſenate advice of them; and, without loſs of time, viſited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raiſing of troops for the defence of Theſſaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the moſt powerful people of Greece, ſupplied him with the greateſt number, forgetting paſt ſubjects of diſcontent. He preſently took from the falſe Philip all the places he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in Theſſaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

(o) However, it is well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occaſion for a ſpeedy ſupport. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as ſoon as poſſible with an army, which he did without loſs of time. But looking upon Andriſcus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions againſt him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he loſt his life, with part of his army; the reſt ſaving themſelves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this ſucceſs, and believing his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, abandoned himſelf to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reſerve; as if the being truly a king conſiſted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his paſſions. He was covetous, proud, inſolent and cruel. Nothing was ſeen every where but violence, confiſcations of eſtates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occaſioned by the

(o) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

the defeat of the Roman army, he ſoon recovered all he had loſt in Theſſaly. An embaſſy ſent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had ſucceeded Juventius. Andriſcus had reſolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the ſea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor ſoon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and ſkirmiſhed every day. Andriſcus gained an advantage ſufficiently conſiderable in a ſmall combat of the cavalry. Succeſs generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriſcus, believing himſelf ſuperior to the Romans, ſent off a great detachment to defend his conqueſts in Theſſaly. This was a groſs error; and Metellus, whoſe vigilance nothing eſcaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriſcus obliged to fly. He retired amongſt the Thracians, from whom he returned ſoon after with another army. He was ſo raſh as to hazard another battle, which was ſtill leſs ſucceſsful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in theſe two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to ſeize Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he had abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not ſtand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their intereſt. That prince delivered up his gueſt and ſuppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himſelf the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriſcus was ſent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the ſame fate with the firſt, except being ſeized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himſelf.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely ſubjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third uſurper, ſome years after, appeared again, and ſet himſelf up as the ſon of Perſeus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of ſhort duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremilius, afterward ſurnamed *Scrofa*, from having ſaid that he would diſperſe the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

SECT

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war againſt the Lacedæmonians.* METELLUS *ſends deputies to Corinth to appeaſe theſe troubles; they are ill uſed and inſulted.* METELLUS, *after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The conſul* MUMMIUS *ſucceeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, ſets it on fire, and entirely demoliſhes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of* POLYBIUS. *Triumphs of* METELLUS *and* MUMMIUS.

METELLUS, (*p*) after having pacified Macedonia, continued there ſome time. Great commotions had aroſe amongſt the Achæans of the league, occaſioned by the temerity and avarice of thoſe who held the firſt offices. The reſolutions of their aſſemblies were no longer guided by reaſon, prudence, and equity, but by the intereſt and paſſions of the magiſtrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithſtanding, who was the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, had cauſed war to be declared againſt Sparta. Metellus had ſent to deſire that hoſtilities might ceaſe, till the arrival of the commiſſioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who ſucceeded him, paid any regard to that requeſt. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waſte the country.

The commiſſioners being arrived, the aſſembly was ſummoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Oreſtes was at the head of the commiſſion.) The ſenate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to ſeparate as many cities as they could from it. Oreſtes notified to the aſſembly the decree of the ſenate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were ſecluded from the league, under pretence, that thoſe cities did not originally compoſe a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the aſſembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore thoſe out of the houſe of the commiſſioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themſelves no better, had they not eſcaped their violence by flight.

Oreſtes

(*p*) A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii, cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. p. 181—189. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

Oreſtes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had paſſed. The ſenate was highly incenſed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with ſome other commiſſioners, into Achaia; but inſtructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counſels, leſt by their imprudence they ſhould incur diſgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by puniſhing thoſe who had expoſed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, ſo that it was neceſſary to act with caution in regard to allies ſo powerful as the Achæans. The commiſſioners met on their way a deputy ſent by the ſeditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been ſummoned to aſſemble. They ſpoke in it with great moderation and kindneſs. They did not let ſlip a ſingle word in their diſcourſe concerning the ill treatment of the commiſſioners, or excuſed it better than the Achæans themſelves would have done; and were as reſerved in regard to the cities they had been for ſeparating from the league. They confined themſelves to exhorting them not to aggravate their firſt fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonſtrances were extremely agreeable to all the perſons of ſenſe in the aſſembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all choſen out of the vileſt, moſt impious, and moſt pernicious perſons in each city, blew up the flame of diſcord; inſinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worſted in ſeveral engagements, and from the fear they were in, leſt the Achæan league ſhould declare againſt them.

The commiſſioners, however, were treated with ſufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas ſhould be ſent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa*, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, till new commiſſioners ſhould arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their meaſures in ſuch a manner, that nobody, except that magiſtrate, went to the congreſs; and he did not arrive there till he was almoſt no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any meaſures. He ſaid, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the conſent of the nation, and that he would

* *A city on the banks of the Eurotas.*

would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be ſummoned in leſs than ſix months. That bad ſtratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having diſmiſſed the Lacedæmonians, he ſet out for Rome, where he deſcribed Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commiſſioners were no ſooner out of Peloponneſus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and ſummoned aſſemblies, under colour of communicating what had been ſaid to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives againſt the Romans, and to put an odious conſtruction upon all they had done, in order to inſpire the ſame ſpirit of animoſity and averſion which he himſelf had againſt them; and he only ſucceeded too well. He, beſides, prohibited all judges from proſecuting and impriſoning any Achæan for debt, till the concluſion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he ſaid had all the effect he deſired, and diſpoſed the multitude to receive ſuch orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they ſuffered themſelves to be caught with the bait of the firſt advantage he propoſed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponneſus, deputed thither four Romans of diſtinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was aſſembled there. They ſpoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themſelves, by imprudent raſhneſs and levity, the reſentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiouſly turned out of the aſſembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers roſe about them, and inſulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantick than the reſt, and abandoned to a kind of madneſs. They had been perſuaded, that Rome intended to inſlave them all, and abſolutely to deſtroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, ſeeing with pleaſure that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſhes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them againſt the magiſtrates who did not enter into his views; flew out againſt the ambaſſadors themſelves; animated them againſt the Romans; and gave them to underſtand, that it was not without previous good meaſures he had undertaken to make head againſt the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republicks were alſo ready to join it. By theſe ſeditious diſcourſes he prevailed to have war declared againſt the Lacedæmonians,

monians, and, in conſequence, indirectly againſt the Romans. The ambaſſadors then ſeparated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to obſerve the motions of the enemy; another ſet out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magiſtrate of the Bœotians, whoſe name was Pytheas, equally raſh and violent with Critolaus, entered into his meaſures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with thoſe of the Achæans; they were diſcontented with a ſentence Rome had given againſt them. The city of Chalcis ſuffered itſelf alſo to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with ſuch feeble aids, believed themſelves in a condition to ſupport all the weight of the Roman power; ſo much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

(q) The Romans had choſen Mummius for one of the conſuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, ſent new ambaſſadors to the Achæans, with promiſes, that the Roman people ſhould forget all that had paſſed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and conſent that certain cities, which had been propoſed before, ſhould be diſmembered from the league. This propoſal was rejected with diſdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops againſt the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a conſiderable victory over them, in which he took more than 1000 priſoners. Critolaus diſappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was ſuppoſed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marſhes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his ſtead, gave liberty to the ſlaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14000 foot, and 600 horſe. He gave orders beſides for the raiſing of troops in every city. The exhauſted cities were in the utmoſt deſolation Many private perſons, reduced to deſpair, laid violent hands upon themſelves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foreſaw their deſtruction was inevitable. Notwithſtanding the extremity of theſe misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only meaſures that could prevent them. They deteſted the raſhneſs of their chiefs, and nevertheleſs came into their meaſures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with 1000 Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; theſe were all put to

(q) A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

to the ſword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almoſt entirely deſerted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houſes ſhould be ſpared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, ſhould be made priſoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miſeries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Mægara, the garriſon of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had ſhut himſelf up. He ſent thither three of the principal perſons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently deſired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their ſide, were equally deſirous of ſeeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus diſpoſing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into priſon, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not ſeen the multitude extremely enraged at the puniſhment he had inflicted upon Solicrates, who talked of ſurrendering to the Romans. The priſoners were therefore diſmiſſed.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had haſtened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and leſt another ſhould have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus reſigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had aſſembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their poſt, the beſieged made a ſally, attacked them vigorouſly, killed many, and purſued the reſt almoſt to the entrance of their camp. This ſmall advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the conſul battle. The latter, to augment his raſhneſs, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and preſumption of the Achæans roſe to an inexpreſſible height. They advanced furiouſly with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be ſpectators of the battle, and cauſed a great number of carriages to follow them to be laden with the booty they ſhould take from the enemy; ſo fully did they aſſure themſelves of the victory.

Never

Never was there a more raſh or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the ſervice and counſels all ſuch as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had ſubſtituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more abſolutely maſters of the government, and ruling without oppoſition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantick rage. They had already committed an exceſs of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without neceſſity, inſtead of thinking of a long and brave defence in ſo ſtrong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous reſiſtance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the Iſthmus. The conſul had poſted part of his horſe in an ambuſcade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, ſurprized by an unforeſeen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more reſiſtance; but as it was neither covered nor ſuſtained by the horſe, it was ſoon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it ſome time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whoſe ſole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himſelf to his deſpair, he rode full ſpeed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his houſe, ſet fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poiſon, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants loſt all hope of defending themſelves. As they found they were without counſel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther reſiſtance, and oblige the victor to grant them ſome ſupportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and moſt of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to ſave themſelves where they could. The conſul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold; and after the ſtatues, paintings, and richeſt moveables, were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houſes were ſet on fire, and the whole city continued univerſally in flames for ſeveral days. From that time the Corinthian braſs became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before.

It

* *This place is not known.*

It is pretended, that the gold, ſilver, and braſs, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demoliſhed, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the ſenate, to puniſh the inſolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambaſſadors ſent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the ſame year Carthage was taken and deſtroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its foundation by Aletes, the ſon of Hippotes, ſixth in deſcent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raiſing new troops for the defence of the country, or ſummoned any aſſembly to deliberate upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propoſe any remedy for the publick calamities, or endeavoured to appeaſe the Romans, by ſending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of that city alarmed, and univerſally diſmayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were alſo puniſhed by the demolition of their walls, and by being diſarmed. The ten commiſſioners, ſent by the ſenate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the conſul, aboliſhed popular government in all the cities, and eſtabliſhed magiſtrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the publick funds. In other reſpects, they were left in poſſeſſion of their laws and liberty. They aboliſhed alſo all the general aſſemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-eſtabliſhed ſoon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; becauſe, at the taking Corinth, the Achæans were the moſt powerful people of Greece; the Roman people ſent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by deſtroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to ſhew that example of ſeverity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, raſh and preſuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Beſides which, the advantageous ſituation of that city, where ſuch as revolted might canton themſelves, and make it a place of arms againſt the Romans, determined

termined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not diſapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being uſed in that manner, could have wiſhed that Corinth had been ſpared.

The booty taken at Corinth was ſold, and conſiderable ſums raiſed from it. Amongſt the paintings there was a piece drawn by the moſt celebrated † hand in Greece, *(r)* repreſenting Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve, had the mortification to ſee that painting ſerve the ſoldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the ſale made of the booty, for 600,000 ſeſterces, that is, about 3625 l. ſterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the ſame painter's, which the ſame Attalus purchaſed for an 100 talents, or an 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immenſe, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheleſs theſe ſums ſeem repugnant to probability. However it were, the conſul, ſurprized that the price of the painting in queſtion ſhould riſe ſo high, interpoſed his authority, and retained it contrary to publick faith, and notwithſtanding the complaints of Attalus; becauſe he imagined there was ſome hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He ‡ did not act in that manner for his private intereſt, nor with the view of appropriating it to himſelf, as he ſent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, ſays Cicero, he adorned and embelliſhed his houſe much more eſſentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richeſt and moſt opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble diſintereſtedneſs was at that time common in Rome, and ſeemed leſs the virtue of private perſons, than of the age itſelf. To take the advantage

(r) Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10.

* Majores noſtri———Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus ſuſtulerunt. Sed credo illos ſecutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne poſſet aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipſe adhortari. *Cic. de Offic.* l. i. n. 35.

† *This painter was called Ariſtides. The picture mentioned here, was in ſuch eſtimation, that it was commonly ſaid,* All paintings are nothing in compariſon to the Bacchus.

‡ Numquid Lucius Mummius copioſior, cum copioſiſſimam urbem funditus ſuſtuliſſet? Italiam ornare, quam domum ſuam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipſa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abſtinentiæ non hominis eſt ſolum, ſed etiam temporum——— Habere quæſtui rempu. non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium. *Cic. de offic.* l. i. n. 76, 77.

tage of office and command for enriching a man's ſelf, was not only ſhameful and infamous, but a criminal abuſe. The painting we ſpeak of, was ſet up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to ſee it out of curioſity, as a maſter-piece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taſte for painting or ſculpture; the merit of which he did not diſtinguiſh; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or ſtatue and ſtatue, nor that the name of the great maſters in thoſe arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the preſent occaſion. * He had ordered perſons to take care of tranſporting many of the paintings and ſtatues of the moſt excellent maſters to Rome. Never had loſs been ſo irreparable, as that of ſuch a depoſite, conſiſting of the maſter-pieces of thoſe rare artiſts, who contributed almoſt as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to poſterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to thoſe to whom he confided them, threatened them very ſeriouſly, that if the ſtatues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, ſhould be either loſt, or ſpoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt and charges.

Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays an hiſtorian, who has preſerved us this fact, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted; and would not ſuch a groſſneſs be infinitely preferable, in regard to the publick good, to the exceeding delicacy of taſte of the preſent age for ſuch ſort of rarities? He ſpoke at a time when that taſte for excellent paintings amongſt the magiſtrates, was the occaſion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have ſaid that Polybius, on returning into Peloponneſus, had the affliction to ſee the deſtruction and burning of Corinth and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any *(s)* thing was capable of giving him conſolation in ſo mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defend-

(s) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eas reddſturas. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantam ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. *Vell. Paterc.* l. i. n. 13.

defending the memory of Philopœmen, his maſter in the ſcience of war. I have already obſerved, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the ſtatues erected to that hero taken down, had the imprudence to proſecute him criminally, as if he had been ſtill alive, and to accuſe him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always oppoſed their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. That accuſation was extravagant, but had ſome colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He repreſented Philopœmen as the greateſt captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people conſiderable ſervices upon ſeveral occaſions; as in their wars againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commiſſioners before whom he pleaded ſo noble a cauſe, moved with his reaſons, and ſtill more with his gratitude for his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of Philopœmen ſhould continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good diſpoſition, demanded alſo the ſtatues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponneſus into Acarnania. The Achæans were ſo charmed with the zeal Polybius had expreſſed upon this occaſion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a ſtatue of marble to himſelf.

He gave at the ſame time a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which did him as much honour amongſt his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the deſtruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to puniſh the authors of the inſult done to the Roman ambaſſadors, and their eſtates and effects were ſold by auction. When thoſe of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor who ſold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refuſed that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and ſhould have thought himſelf in ſome meaſure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; beſide which, he believed it infamous to enrich himſelf out of the ſpoils of his fellow citizen. He would not only accept nothing himſelf, but exhorted his friends not to deſire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This

This action made the commiſſioners *(t)* conceive ſo high an eſteem for Polybius, that, upon their leaving Greece, they deſired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accuſtomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws preſcribed them. Polybius diſcharged that honourable commiſſion with ſo much goodneſs, juſtice, and prudence, that no farther conteſts aroſe in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for ſo great a benefit, ſtatues were erected to him in different places; upon the baſe of one of which was this inſcription; *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if ſhe had hearkened from the firſt to the counſels of Polybius; but that, after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the ſiege of which he was preſent. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there *(u)* the eſteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourſcore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horſe.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and ſurnamed Macedonicus. The falſe king, Andriſcus, was led before his chariot. Amongſt the ſpoils, he cauſed what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the proceſſion. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having loſt five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lyſippus, the moſt excellent artiſt in that way, to make each of them an equeſtrian ſtatue, to which he added his own. Theſe ſtatues were ſet up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus cauſed them to be tranſported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained alſo the honour of a triumph, and, in conſequence of having conquered Achaia, was ſurnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of ſtatues and paintings in his triumphs, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the publick buildings at Rome, and of ſeveral other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own houſe.

(t) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c. *(u)* Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the cauſes of the grandeur, declenſion, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having ſeen the final ruin of Greece, which has ſupplied us through a ſeries of ſo many ages with ſuch fine examples of heroick virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and conſider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the riſe, progreſs, and declenſion of the principal ſtates, that compoſe it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The firſt and ſecond ages of Greece.

I ſhall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the firſt age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The ſecond age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Perſia, was in a manner its youth. In thoſe early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itſelf for thoſe great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length roſe ſo high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monſieur *(x)* Boſſuet obſerves, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who ſettling in ſeveral parts of the country, ſpread univerſally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learnt the exerciſes of the body, wreſtling, the horſe, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their higheſt perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympick games. But the beſt thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to ſuffer themſelves to be formed by laws for the good of the publick. They were not private perſons, who regard nothing but their own intereſts and concerns, and have no ſenſe of the calamities of the ſtate, but as they ſuffer themſelves, or as the repoſe of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to conſider themſelves and their families as part of the greater body, which was that of the ſtate. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children

(x) Univerſal Hiſtory.

children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more ſtrictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, inſtituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themſelves, and moſt of the cities formed themſelves into republicks, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wiſe, reaſonable, and ſubſervient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from tranſacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Beſides this, the condition of private perſons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abuſing an authority, of which they might ſoon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, when under no reſtraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and paſſions, which generally occaſion the ruin of ſtates. They led a laborious and buſy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the huſbandman or the artiſt from the firſt dignities of the ſtate; preſerving between all the citizens and members of the ſtate a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or oſtentation. He, who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not aſhamed of the moſt common functions either in the armies by land or ſea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, ſimplicity in buildings, moveables, dreſs, equipage, domeſticks, and table. It is ſurprizing to conſider the ſmall retributions with which they were ſatisfied for their application in publick employments, and ſervices rendered the ſtate.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in theſe principles, and indued from their earlieſt infancy with maxims ſo proper to exalt the ſoul, and to inſpire it with great and noble ſentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could poſſibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages.

The merit and virtue of the Greeks, ſhut up within the compaſs of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and ſhone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, ſome great and important occaſion was neceſſary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and expoſed to extreme dangers, was compelled in ſome meaſure to quit her home, and to ſhew herſelf abroad in open day ſuch as ſhe was. And this was ſupplied by the Perſians in their invaſions of Greece, firſt under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Aſia, armed with the whole force of the eaſt, overflowed on a ſudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by ſea and land, againſt a little ſpot of Greece, which ſeemed under the neceſſity of being entirely ſwallowed up and overwhelmed at the firſt ſhock. Two ſmall cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only reſiſt thoſe formidable armies, but attack, defeat, purſue, and deſtroy the greateſt part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which ſhone out at that time, and continued to do ſo long after on like occaſions. To what were the Greeks indebted for ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, ſo much above all probability, unleſs to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a ſecond nature in them?

Thoſe principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, diſregard of ſelf-intereſt, attention to the publick good, deſire of glory, love of their country; but above all, ſuch a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and ſuch an irreconcileable abhorrence for whoever conceived the leaſt thought againſt it, as united their counſels, and put an end to all diſſenſion and diſcord in a moment.

There was ſome difference between the republicks as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that ſide they were perfectly equal. The ſtates of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occaſions ſo many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themſelves, or of making conqueſts, at the expence of each other. They confined themſelves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to uſurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their territory, did not apprehend invaſion from the more powerful. This occaſioned ſuch a multitude of cities, republicks and ſtates of Greece, which ſub-

ſubſiſted to the lateſt times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with ſome attention the conduct of theſe people, either at home or abroad, their aſſemblies, deliberations, and motives for the reſolutions they take, we cannot ſufficiently admire the wiſdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourſelves, from whence could ariſe this greatneſs of ſoul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence thoſe noble ſentiments, this conſummate wiſdom in politicks, this profound and univerſal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and conſtruction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and diſpoſing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that ſupreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which ſo gloriouſly acquired them the empire of the ſea, and obliged the Perſians to renounce it for ever by a ſolemn treaty?

We ſee here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conqueſts, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had ſubmitted to the Roman yoke, Aſia, ſubdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuouſneſs; and that change of manners was very ſudden and rapid, eſpecially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was deſtroyed. It was not ſo with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Perſians; nothing more ſoothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illuſtrious exploits. After ſo glorious a period, the Greeks long perſevered in the ſame love of ſimplicity, frugality, and poverty; the ſame remoteneſs from pomp and luxury; the ſame zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preſervation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the iſlands and provinces of Aſia Minor, over which the Greeks ſo often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleaſures and luxury: they, however, never ſuffered themſelves to be infected by that contagious ſoftneſs, and conſtantly preſerved themſelves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make thoſe countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and ſilver into Sparta, from whence they were baniſhed under ſevere penalties, did not happen till about fourſcore years after the battle of Salamin,

and the ancient ſimplicity of manners ſubſiſted very long afterwards, notwithſtanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be ſaid of the reſt of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but ſlowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to ſhew.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cauſe of the weakening and declenſion of the Greeks, was the diſunion which roſe up amongſt themſelves. The Perſians, who had found them invincible on the ſide of arms, as long as their union ſubſiſted, applied their whole attention and policy in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord amongſt them. For that reaſon they employed their gold and ſilver, which ſucceeded much better than their ſteel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked inviſibly in this manner by bribes ſecretly conveyed into the hands of thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in their governments, were divided by domeſtick jealouſies, and turned their victorious arms againſt themſelves, which had rendered them ſuperior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from theſe cauſes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to ſubject them. Thoſe princes, to accuſtom them to ſervitude the more agreeable, coloured their deſign with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that groſs ſnare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke impoſed on them by the hands which had conquered the univerſe, could never be removed; thoſe little ſtages were no longer in a condition to ſhake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, rouzed from its lethargy, and made ſome attempts to reinſtate itſelf in its condition; but thoſe efforts were ill concerted, and as ill ſuſtained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its ſlavery; becauſe the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, ſoon made themſelves its maſters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally ſubjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice, As they continually puſhed on their conqueſts from province to province, they perceived, that they ſhould find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous ſituation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itſelf, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to

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the ſmall ſtates of Greece, from whom they had leſs to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling paſſion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great addreſs made uſe of the Greeks to reduce and deſtroy the Macedonian power, they ſubjected all thoſe ſtates one after another under various pretexts. Greece was thus ſwallowed up at laſt in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not loſe with its power *(y)* that ardent paſſion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reſerved to the people almoſt all their privileges; and Sylla *(z)*, who puniſhed them ſo cruelly ſixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge thoſe of their liberty, who eſcaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were ſeen to eſpouſe with warmth the party of Pompey, *(a)* who fought for the republick. Julius Cæſar revenged himſelf upon them no otherwiſe than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of conſideration for their anceſtors. But, after Cæſar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected ſtatues to Brutus and Caſſius near thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till ſolicited by Antony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magiſtrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they ſtill retained another ſovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themſelves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the ſciences, the ſchool of polite arts, and the center and ſtandard of refined taſte in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæſarea, Alexandria, Epheſus, and Rhodes, ſhared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened ſchools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as ſhe was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She ſent her moſt illuſtrious citizens to be finiſhed and refined in Greece. They were inſtructed there in all the parts of ſound philoſophy, the knowledge of mathematicks, the ſcience of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reaſoning with juſtice and method: all the treaſures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of

(y) Strab. l. ix. p. 191. & l. xlvii. p. 359. *(z)* Plut. in Sylla. *(a)* Diod. l. xliii.

treating the greateſt ſubjects, with propriety, force, elegance, and perſpicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted ſomething, and did not bluſh to become the diſciple of the great maſters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midſt of his glorious conqueſts, did not think it a diſhonour to him, in paſſing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philoſophers who taught there with great reputation, and to make himſelf in ſome meaſure their diſciple.

Nothing ſhews better the reſpect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny *(b)* the Younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus appointed governor of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, my dear Maximus, "that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the ſame "Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; "where even agriculture was invented, according to the "common opinion. Remember, that you are ſent to govern "free cities and free men, if ever any ſuch there were; who "by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, "have known how to preſerve the liberty they received from "nature. Revere the gods their founders; reſpect their he-"roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the ſacred "antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and "even fables and vanity of that people. Remember, it is "from thoſe ſources that we have derived our law; that we "did not impoſe our laws upon them, after we had conquer-"ed them, but that they gave us theirs, at our requeſt, be-"fore they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In "a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon "you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous "to deprive them of that faint image, that ſhadow which "they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilſt the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always ſupported itſelf, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was reſorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, thoſe great lights of the church, St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chryſoſtom, went to Athens to imbibe, as their ſource, all the profane ſciences. The emperors themſelves *(c)*, who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the moſt celebrated philoſophers into their palaces, in order to their being intruſted with the education of their children, and to improve themſelves by their inſtructions. Marcus

(b) Lib. viii. c. 24.

(c) Tit. Antonius. M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

Marcus Aurelius, even whilſt he was emperor, went to hear the philoſophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take leſſons from them as a common diſciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had impoſed its laws on Egypt and the whole Eaſt, from whence ſhe had expelled barbariſm, and introduced a taſte for the arts and ſciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conqueſt, all thoſe nations to receive her language and adopt her cuſtoms: a teſtimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illuſtrious ſuperiority, than that not founded in merit, but ſolely upon the force of arms. Plutarch obſerves ſomewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not underſtand Greek was in no great eſtimation.

ARTICLE III.

It ſeems, that after the ſubjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our hiſtory, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, thoſe of Egypt and Syria, ſhould become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obſcure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, eſpecially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which ſeveral kings not only ſucceeded one another in a ſhort ſpace, but ſometimes reign jointly, and, at the ſame time, to the number of three or four, which occaſions a confuſion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myſelf. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, ſucceſſion, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This ſmall chronological abridgment may contribute to caſt ſome light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and ſerve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the moſt clear-ſighted will have occaſion for aſſiſtance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be paſſed over, and recourſe be only had to it, when it is neceſſary to be ſet right: I inſert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the ſpace of 100 years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulſion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845, to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the ſame article contains almoſt the ſpace of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Aſiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thouſand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thouſand nine hundred and thirty nine.

SECT. I. *A chronological abridgement of the hiſtory of the*

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned ſomething more than thirty four years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes, or Phyſcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwiſe called Phyſcon, brother of Philometor, aſcends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Phyſcon

kings of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third Article.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, ſucceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. 3840.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, ſon of Seleucus Philopator, having eſcaped from Rome, aſcends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himſelf out for the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, ſeizes the throne of Syria. He is ſupported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almoſt five years. Ptolemæus Philometor declares againſt him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, ſon of Demetrius Soter. 3859.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR. 3859.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, ſon of Bala, ſupported by Tryphon, ſeizes part of the kingdom. 3860.

DIODOTES TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, aſcends the throne. 3861.

Demetrius marches againſt the Parthians, who take him priſoner, and confine him. He had reigned ſeven years. 3863.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife, marries him. 3864.

Phyſcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her
3874. daughter, named alſo Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians reſtore the government to Cleopatra his firſt wife.

3877. Phyſcon re-aſcends the throne.

3887. Death of Phyſcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, ſucceeds Phyſcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldeſt ſiſter, and marry Selena, his youngeſt ſiſter.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

Antiochus Sidetes marches againſt the Parthians. 3873.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

The Parthians ſend back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is ſlain. 3874.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA, ſupported by Phyſcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed ſoon after. 3877.

Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

SELEUCUS V. eldeſt ſon of Demetrius, is declared king, and ſoon after killed by Cleopatra. 3880.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra. 3881.

Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies ſoon after. 3882.

Cleopatra, deſigns to poiſon Grypus, and is poiſoned herſelf. 3884.

ANTIOCHUS, THE CYZICENIAN, ſon of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms againſt Grypus. 3890.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the 3891.

Cy-

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he had
3897. reigned ten years. She ſets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.
3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A.M.

Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria. 3892.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenian.

The two brothers are reconciled and divide the empire of Syria. 3893.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus. 3903.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty seven years. 3907.

SELEUCUS, his son, succeeds him.

Antiochus, the Cyzicenian, is overthrown, and put to death. 3910.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king. 3911.

Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes. 3912.

PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him. 3913.

DEME-

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.

3916. Alexander is expelled himſelf: he had reigned nineteen years. He died ſoon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. ſon of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is choſen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwiſe Berenice, and kills her ſeventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The

KINGS OF SYRIA. A.M.

DEMETRIUS EUCHARES, fourth ſon of Grypus, is eſtabliſhed upon the throne at Damaſcus, by the aſſiſtance of Lathyrus. 3914.

Euſebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongſt the Parthians. 3916.

He is re-eſtabliſhed upon the throne by their means. 3918.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth ſon of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damaſcus, and is killed the following year.

The Syrians, weary of ſo many diviſions and revolutions, elect TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years. 3921.

Euſebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selena, his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, and gives her two ſons a good education.

Tigranes

A.M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, baſtard ſon of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

Ti-

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, ſon of Antiochus Euſebes, takes poſſeſſion of ſome part of the country, and reigns there during four years. 3935.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Aſiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The houſe of the Seleucides is extinct with him. 3939.

SECT. II. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, *aged nineteen, ſucceeds his father* ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES *in the kingdom of Syria.* DEMETRIUS, *who had been long an hoſtage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of* JUDAS MACCABÆUS *againſt the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himſelf in perſon. Long differences between the two* PTOLEMIES, *brothers, and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.*

WE have long loſt ſight of the * hiſtory of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no ſmall connexion with each other. I am now going to reſume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, ſurnamed Eupator *(d)*, aged only nineteen, ſucceeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, ſent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his ſon's minority, and put his crown, ſignet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his ſon in ſuch a manner, as was moſt proper to inſtruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had uſurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lyſias, upon the firſt advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his ſon Antiochus upon the throne, whoſe governor he was, and had taken upon himſelf, with the guardianſhip, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to diſpute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-poſſeſſion of his right, and the expulſion of the uſurper.

Much about the ſame time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a ſudden their friend; moved, as the ſcripture ſays, with a crying injuſtice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a ſtop to the rigour of the perſecution againſt them, and employed his whole credit to obtain

(d) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10—13. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

* *It is treated laſt towards the end of Book* XVIII. *Article* II. *Sect.* II. *and* III.

obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occaſion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king againſt him, by repreſenting him perpetually as a traitor; becauſe he had in reality betrayed the intereſts of his firſt maſter, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had entruſted him with the government of the iſland of Cyprus, and had given up that iſland to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his ſervice. For, how advantageous ſoever the treaſon might be, the traitor, as is uſual, was hated. At length, they did ſo much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lyſias; no other poſt or penſion being conferred on him to ſupport his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poiſoned himſelf; an end he had well deſerved for his treaſon, and ſhare in the cruel perſecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus *(e)* at this time ſignalized his valour by ſeveral conſiderable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war againſt him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes ſurvived the favourable inclinations he had expreſſed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always conſidered the Jews as rebels deſirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great intereſt in making ſo powerful a neighbouring people ſubmit to it, had no regard to ſome tranſient demonſtrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always perſiſted in the ſame principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whoſe ſole view was to ſhake off their chains, and to ſupport themſelves in liberty of conſcience, with regard to religion. Such were the diſpoſitions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Demetrius, *(f)* ſon of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hoſtage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the acceſſion of his ſon Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the ſon of Epiphanes's eldeſt brother. He propoſed to the ſenate his re-eſtabliſhment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he repreſented, that having been bred up at Rome, he ſhould always regard it as his native country, the ſenators as his fathers, and their ſons as his brothers. The ſenate

(e) 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38. *(f)* A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 117.

ſenate had more regard for the intereſts of the republick than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there ſhould be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and ſent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambaſſadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The ſame ambaſſadors had inſtructions to accommodate, if poſſible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lyſias *(g)*, terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourſcore thouſand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourſcore elephants: at the head of all theſe forces he marched into Judæa with the reſolution to ſettle ſtrange inhabitants that worſhipped idols in Jeruſalem. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bethſura, a fortreſs between Idumæa and Jeruſalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beſeeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to ſend his angel for the preſervation of Iſrael. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with aſſured courage, out of Jeruſalem, there * appeared a horſeman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That ſight filled them with new ardour. They threw themſelves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thouſand ſix hundred men, and obliged the reſt to fly, moſt of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lyſias *(h)*, weary of ſo unſucceſsful a war, and, as the ſcripture ſays, *believing the Jews invincible, when ſupported by the aid of the Almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas and the Jewiſh nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, ſhould be revoked and cancelled, and that they ſhould be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repoſe. Timotheus, one of the kings generals, aſſembled all his forces, and raiſed an army of 120,000 foot,

(g) 2 Maccab ix. 1—28. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joſeph. Antiq. c. xii. *(h)* Ibid. xi. 13.

* *It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.*

foot, without including the horſe, which amounted to five-and-twenty thouſand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched againſt him with his troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus loſt thirty thouſand men in this battle, and ſaved himſelf with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the ſide of Judas, which proved that God alone is the ſource of valour, intrepidity, and ſucceſs in war. He ſhewed this in the moſt ſenſible manner, by the evident and ſingular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raiſed of 100,000 foot, with 20,000, horſe, and two-and-thirty elephants, and 300 chariots of war. The king in perſon, with Lyſias the regent of the kingdom, put themſelves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the univerſe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the laſt drop of their blood, marched and poſted himſelf in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, THE VICTORY OF GOD, he choſe the braveſt men of his army, and with them in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confuſion and diſmay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He reſolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, ſeeing an elephant larger than the reſt, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, ſacrificed himſelf to preſerve the people, and to acquire immortal fame He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that oppoſed him. Then placing himſelf under the beaſt's belly, he pierced it in ſuch a manner, that it fell and cruſhed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary reſolution. But at length, exhauſted by the fatigue, and no longer able to ſupport the weight of the enemy, they choſe to retire. The king followed them, and beſieged the fortreſs of Bethſura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was

was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched againſt Jeruſalem, and beſieged the temple. Thoſe who defended it were reduced to the ſame extremities with the garriſon of Bethſura, and would, like them, have been obliged to ſurrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeſeen accident. I have obſerved, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding aſſiſtance there againſt Lyſias. But the diviſions which aroſe between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been ſaid elſewhere, ſoon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the Eaſt, aſſembled ſome troops of Medes and Perſians, and taking advantage of the king's abſence upon his expedition againſt Judæa, he ſeized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lyſias thought it neceſſary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms againſt his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus ſwore to obſerve it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the ſight of which he was ſo much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had ſworn in regard to the peace, he cauſed them to be demoliſhed before he ſet out for Syria. The ſudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his ſhort regency, and ſoon after to his life.

The troubles *(i)* occaſioned by the diviſions between the two Ptolemies, which we have juſt now mentioned, roſe ſo high, that the Roman ſenate gave orders to the ambaſſadors they had ſent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to uſe all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Phyſcon, the youngeſt, ſurnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brunduſium. From thence he went the reſt of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dreſt, and with few followers, and demanded of the ſenate the neceſſary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As ſoon as Demetrius, ſon of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was ſtill an hoſtage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he cauſed royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him

(i) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Euſ. Scalig. p. 60, & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his uſe. He found him twenty-ſix miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues diſtance from Rome. Ptolemy expreſſed great gratitude to him for his goodneſs, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his preſent, nor permit him to attend him the reſt of his journey. He finiſhed it on foot, and with the ſame attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very ſmall houſe. His deſign, by all theſe circumſtances, was to expreſs the miſery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compaſſion of the Romans.

When the ſenate were informed of his arrival, they ſent to deſire he would come to them; and to excuſe their not having prepared a houſe for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the cuſtom to treat princes of his rank. They aſſured him, that it was neither for want of conſideration for his perſon, nor out of neglect, but becauſe his coming had ſurprized them, and had been kept ſo ſecret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having deſired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the ſenate, in order to explain the occaſion of his voyage, he was conducted by ſome of the ſenators to a houſe ſuitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæſtors and treaſurers, to ſee him ſerved and ſupplied, at the expence of the publick, with all things neceſſary during his reſidence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had repreſented his condition to the Romans, they immediately reſolved to re-eſtabliſh him; and deputed two of the ſenators, with the character of ambaſſadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cauſe their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and ſucceeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Phyſcon: Philometor had Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions aſſigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the cuſtomary oaths and ſacrifices.

But oaths and ſacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than ſimple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themſelves bound in the leaſt. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngeſt of the two kings, diſſatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in perſon to complain of it to

the ſenate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition ſhould be annulled, and that he ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the neceſſity of the times, to comply with the former propoſals, and that, though Cyprus ſhould be granted him, his part would ſtill be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Phyſcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life alſo, from the goodneſs of his brother; that he had made himſelf ſo much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother ſnatched him from their reſentment, by making himſelf mediator. That at the time he was preſerved from this danger, he thought himſelf too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both ſides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and ſworn to obſerve their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The ſenate, ſeeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminiſh the ſtrength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For ſuch was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and ſtrengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with ſo much addreſs, that whilſt they acted ſolely from their own intereſt, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reaſon to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one ſovereign, who knew how to uſe it, they adjudged the iſle of Cyprus to Phyſcon. Demetrius, who did not loſe ſight of the throne of Syria, and whoſe intereſt in that view it was, that ſo powerful a prince as the king of Egypt ſhould not continue in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus, ſupported the demand of Phyſcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula ſet out with the latter, to put him into poſſeſſion of it.

During (k) that prince's ſtay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of ſeeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and cauſed propoſals of marriage to be made to her. But being

(k) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice conſul and cenſor, ſhe rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the firſt ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya, with Phyſcon.

Phyſcon ſet out from Rome with the two Roman ambaſſadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the ſenate's inſtructions. Philometor did not explain himſelf openly at firſt. He ſpun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with deſign of making uſe of the time in taking ſecret meaſures againſt his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was reſolved to ſtand to the firſt treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time *(l)*, informed of the ill conduct of Phyſcon during his being poſſeſſed of the government at Alexandria, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion for him, that they reſolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite thoſe troubles. Phyſcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almoſt loſt all hope, ſent two deputies with the Roman ambaſſadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints againſt his brother before the ſenate, and to ſolicit their protection. The ſenate, offended at Philometor's refuſal to evacuate the iſland of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambaſſadors to quit Rome in five days.

Phyſcon found means to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in Cyrenaica, but made himſelf ſo generally hated by his ſubjects, through his ill conduct, that ſome of them fell upon him, and wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead upon the ſpot. He aſcribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints againſt him to the ſenate, ſhewed the ſcars of his wounds, and accuſed him of having employed the aſſaſſins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the moſt humane of all princes, and could not be in the leaſt ſuſpected of ſo black and barbarous an action, the ſenate, who were angry at his refuſal to ſubmit to the regulation they had made in regard to the iſle of Cyprus, gave

(l) A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Il. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 334.

ear to this falſe accuſation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice ſo high againſt him, that they would not ſo much as hear what his ambaſſadors had to ſay in his defence. Orders were ſent them to quit Rome immediately. Beſides which, the ſenate appointed five commiſſioners to conduct Phyſcon into Cyprus, and to put him into poſſeſſion of that iſland, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpoſe with all their troops.

(m) Phyſcon, by this means, with an army which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in the iſland. Philometor, who had gone thither in perſon, beat him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Lapitho, where he was ſoon inveſted, beſieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had ſo cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodneſs appeared upon this occaſion. After all that Phyſcon had done againſt him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him ſenſible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even reſtored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther ſome amends in lieu of the iſle of Cyprus. That act of generoſity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were aſhamed of oppoſing any longer a prince of ſuch extraordinary clemency. There is no reader, who does not ſecretly pay the homage of eſteem and admiration to ſo generous an action. Such inward ſentiments which riſe from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanneſs of ſoul there is in the reſentment of the revengeful.

SECT. III. OCTAVIUS, *ambaſſador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there.* DEMETRIUS *eſcapes from Rome, puts* EUPATOR *to death, aſcends the throne of Syria, and aſſumes the name of* SOTER. *He makes war againſt the Jews. Repeated victories of* JUDAS MACCABÆUS: *Death of that great man.* DEMETRIUS *is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himſelf to drunkenneſs and debauchery.* ALEXANDER BALA *forms a conſpiracy againſt him.* DEMETRIUS *is killed in a battle.* ALEXANDER *eſpouſes the daughter of* PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. *Temple built by the Jews in Egypt.* DEMETRIUS, *ſon of the firſt of*

(m) A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

of that name, ſets up his claim to the throne of Syria. ALEXANDER *is deſtroyed.* PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR *dies at the ſame time.*

WE have *(n)* ſeen that the principal object of the commiſſion of the three Roman ambaſſadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went firſt into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ſhips and elephants than had been ſtipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They cauſed the ſhips to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number ſtated in that treaty, and diſpoſed all things elſe in ſuch a manner as they thought moſt to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment ſeemed inſupportable, and exaſperated the people againſt them. A perſon, named Leptinus, was ſo incenſed at it, that in rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilſt he was bathing, and killed him. It was ſuſpected that Lyſias, the regent of the kingdom, had ſecretly a hand in this aſſaſſination. Ambaſſadors were immediately ſent to Rome, to juſtify the king, and to proteſt, that he had no ſhare in the action. The ſenate ſent them back without giving them any anſwer, to ſignify, by that ſilence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the perſon of Octavius, of which they reſerved the examination and puniſhment to themſelves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a ſtatue to him amongſt thoſe of the great men, who had loſt their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the diſguſt of the Romans againſt Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addreſſed himſelf a ſecond time to the ſenate, to obtain their permiſſion to return into Syria. He took this ſtep contrary to the opinion of the greateſt part of his friends, who adviſed him to make his eſcape, without ſaying any thing. The event ſoon ſhewed him how much they were in the right. As the ſenate had

(n) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv, & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* *This Octavius had been conſul ſome years before, and was the firſt of his family who had attained that honour.* Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4.—— *Octavius, who became emperor, ſo well known under the name of Auguſtus, was of the ſame family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the conſular dignity had never entered.*

always the ſame motives of intereſt for keeping him at Rome as at firſt, he received the ſame anſwer, and had the mortification of a ſecond denial. He had then recourſe to the firſt advice of his friends; and Polybius, the hiſtorian, who was at Rome, was one of thoſe who preſſed him with the utmoſt warmth to put it in immediate execution with ſecrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his meaſures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting-match, went to Oſtia, and embarked with a ſmall train in a Carthaginian veſſel bound for Tyre that waited for him *. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had ſtolen away. All that the ſenate could do, was ſome days after to ſend Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to obſerve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius *(o)* having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report ſpread, that the ſenate had ſent him to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, and had reſolved to ſupport him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a loſt man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyſias, ſeized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius ſaw himſelf eſtabliſhed by this means upon the throne without oppoſition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the firſt actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the firſt governor, and the ſecond treaſurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius cauſed him to be put to death. He contented himſelf with baniſhing the other. The Babylonians were ſo much rejoiced to ſee themſelves freed from the oppreſſion of thoſe two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-prieſt of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, becauſe he had profaned the ſanctity of the prieſthood, by following the impious cuſtoms of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apoſtate Jews, who had taken refuge

(o) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. & 2 Maccab. xiv. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* *That ſhip carried to Tyre, according to cuſtom, the firſt-fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.*

ſuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himſelf at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppreſſions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thouſand calumnies againſt them. He accuſed them of having killed all perſons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all thoſe in his company, to abandon their country, and ſeek their ſecurity elſewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Meſopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commiſſion with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this firſt army ineffectual, as he did of a ſecond, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the laſt defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men ſhould make head againſt ſuch numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Iſrael, and in the promiſes made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thouſand blaſphemies againſt the Almighty, and againſt his temple. He was ſoon puniſhed for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thouſand men, not one eſcaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongſt the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up againſt the temple when he threatened to deſtroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jeruſalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having ſome relaxation, ſent an embaſſy to Rome. He ſaw himſelf continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reaſonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from intereſting themſelves for the preſervation of the Jewiſh nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally eſteemed for their juſtice and valour, were always ready to ſupport weak nations againſt the oppreſſion of kings, whoſe power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it neceſſary to make an alliance with that people, in order to ſupport himſelf by their protection againſt the unjuſt enterprizes of the Syrians. Thoſe ambaſſadors were very well received by the ſenate, who paſſed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defenſive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the ſenate to Demetrius, by which he was

enjoined not to diſtreſs the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in caſe he perſevered to do ſo. But before the ambaſſadors returned, Judas was dead.

As ſoon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, compoſed of the choiceſt of all his troops, and ſent them into Judæa. Judas had only 3000 men with him when he arrived there. Theſe were ſtruck with ſuch a panick, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that ſmall number, through an exceſs of valour and confidence, had the boldneſs to hazard a battle with ſo numerous an army, in which he periſhed, overpowered by multitudes. His loſs was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jeruſalem, with all the marks of the moſt lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences againſt the true Iſraelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not haraſſed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the ſenate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius *(p)* indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and uſed all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predeceſſors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambaſſadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he ſent Menochares, one of his principal miniſters, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had paſſed, that the good offices of thoſe ambaſſadors were abſolutely neceſſary to his ſucceſs in it, he ſent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to aſſure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of preſſing ſolicitations, obtained at length by their means what he deſired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity *(q)*, he ſent the ſame Menochares the following year, in conjunction with ſome others, upon an embaſſy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that

(p) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 162. Polyb. Legat. cxx. *(q)* A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

that weighed ten thouſand pieces * of gold, as a preſent from him to the ſenate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hoſtage at Rome. They carried alſo with them Leptinus and Iſocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the aſſaſſination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the perſon who killed him at Laodicea. Iſocrates was a Greek, by profeſſion a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occaſions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally baſe and unjuſt action. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with all the uſual honours, and accepted the preſent they brought; but would neither hear nor ſee two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reſerving to themſelves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleaſed, a more diſtinguiſhed ſatisfaction for the murder of their ambaſſador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have obſerved before, eſtabliſhed Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was ſoon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to ſee how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, *(r)* who found himſelf without war or occupation, began to give into pleaſure, and to lead an idle life, not a little ſingular and fantaſtick in the manner of it. He cauſed a caſtle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and ſhut himſelf up in it, for the ſake of abandoning himſelf entirely on the one ſide to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleaſure of good chear and exceſs of wine. He was drunk at leaſt one half of the day. The memorials, which people were deſirous of preſenting to him, were never received; juſtice was not adminiſtered; the affairs of the ſtate languiſhed; in a word, there was a general ſuſpence of government, which ſoon ſtirred up the whole people againſt him. A conſpiracy was formed for depoſing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf with obtaining the crown if the enterprize ſucceeded. It was diſcovered, and Holophernes put in priſon. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He choſe rather to ſpare him, in order to make uſe of him upon occaſion againſt Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whoſe crown he had ſome pretenſions.

(r) A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* *They were worth more than ten thouſand piſtoles.*

Notwithſtanding the diſcovery, the conſpiracy was not ſuppreſſed (s). The malcontents were ſupported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themſelves for the war Demetrius had undertaken againſt them in favour of Holophernes. Thoſe three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing ſomebody to perſonate the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to ſet up hereditary pretenſions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have ſaid already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treaſurer of the province of Babylon, at the ſame time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malverſation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his eſcape, had taken up his reſidence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the deſign I have mentioned. He choſe for that purpoſe a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and inſtructed him fully in all that it was neceſſary to ſay or do.

(t) When he was fully prepared, he began by cauſing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the ſecret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did alſo Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the impoſture. By force of addreſs and ſolicitations, he cauſed him to be acknowledged there alſo, and obtained a decree of the ſenate in his favour, which not only gave him permiſſion to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. Though the ſenate plainly ſaw through the impoſture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing deſired of them againſt Demetrius, with whom they were diſſatisfied, and paſſed that decree in favour of the impoſtor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raiſe troops. He then ſeized upon Ptolemais in Paleſtine, and there, under the name of Alexander, ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, aſſumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This

(s) Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii, & cxl. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50. (t) A. M. 3851, Ant. J. C. 153.

This news made Demetrius quit his caſtle and his indolence, and apply himſelf to his defence. He aſſembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed alſo on his ſide. The aſſiſtance of Jonathan was of great conſequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him firſt, and ſent him the commiſſion of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much ſuperior to all his enemies.

Alexander ſeeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make propoſals alſo to him, in order to bring him over to his ſide. He made him high-prieſt, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, ſent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the firſt rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, ſtill outbid him, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch importance. But after the injuries he had done to all thoſe who had the true intereſt of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and reſolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-prieſthood from him, and with the conſent of the whole people, at the feaſt of the tabernacles, which happened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical veſtments, and officiated as high-prieſt.

The place had been vacant ſeven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-prieſthood, which at that time came into the Aſmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he diſpoſed of at pleaſure.

(u) The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good ſenſe, when his reaſon was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander ſoon received new troops from the three kings who had ſet him up, and continued to ſupport him vigorouſly. Having, beſides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his ſide, he retrieved himſelf, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deſerted alſo, becauſe they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their ſecurity in caſe of misfortune. He confided them, with a conſiderable ſum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident ſhould

(u) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

happen, that they might remain there in ſafety, and wait ſome favourable conjuncture.

(x) It was at the ſame time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriſcus played the ſame part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

(y) The two competitors for the crown of Syria having aſſembled all their troops, proceeded to a deciſive battle. At firſt Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which oppoſed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the purſuit, a common fault in battles, and which almoſt always occaſions their being loſt, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in perſon, routed, and the king himſelf killed in the purſuit. As long as he had been in a condition to ſupport the enemy's charge he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his ſucceſs. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horſe plunged into a bog, where thoſe who purſued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found himſelf maſter of the empire of Syria.

As ſoon as (z) Alexander ſaw himſelf at repoſe, he ſent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in perſon to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feaſt, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all poſſible marks of honour.

Onias, ſon of Onias III. having (a) been diſappointed of the high-prieſthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and moſt intimate confident. He made uſe of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permiſſion for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jeruſalem; aſſuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party againſt Antiochus Epiphanes: at the ſame time the high-prieſthood there was granted to him and his deſcendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer ſacrifices

(x) A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151. (y) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.
(z) 1 Maccab. x. 51—66. (a) Joſeph. contra Appian. l. ii.

crifices in any place but the temple of Jeruſalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a paſſage in Iſaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in theſe terms *(b)*: *In that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan, and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts*; *the one ſhall be called the* city of deſtruction. (M. Rollin ſays, the city of the ſun, or Heliopolis.) *In that day there ſhall be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt*; *and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it ſhall be for a ſign and for a witneſs unto the Lord of Hoſts in the land of Egypt*; *for they ſhall cry unto the Lord becauſe of the oppreſſors, and he ſhall find them a ſaviour and a great one, and he ſhall deliver them. And the Lord ſhall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians ſhall know the Lord in that day, and ſhall do ſacrifice and oblation, yea, they ſhall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Iſaiah is one of the moſt ſingular, and, at the ſame time, the moſt remote from all probability. Nothing was more ſtrictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer ſacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jeruſalem; how much more, in conſequence, to build a temple elſewhere, eſpecally in a land polluted with the moſt groſs idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to paſs, exactly as the prophet Iſaiah had foretold. I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial expoſition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my ſubject.

Alexander Bala *(c)*, finding himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleaſures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himſelf therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That inſolent and cruel miniſter put to death Laodice, the ſiſter of Demetrius, and widow of Perſeus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's ſon, who continued in Syria when the two others were ſent to Cnidos; in fine, all the perſons of the blood-royal he could find, in order to ſecure to his maſter, by that means, the poſſeſſion of the crown he had uſurped by an impoſture. That conduct ſoon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Deme-

(b) Iſa. xix. 18—21. *(c)* A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. l. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Joſ. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

Demetrius, the eldeſt of Demetrius's ſons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counſel and action. When he was adviſed of this averſion of the people, he thought the occaſion favourable for repoſſeſſing himſelf of his right. Laſthenes, the friend in whoſe houſe he lived, procured him ſome companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There ſoon joined him a ſufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himſelf maſter of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his ſeraglio to apply himſelf to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is alſo called Tryphon, put himſelf at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could aſſemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he ſent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's firſt thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who perſiſted in his attachment to Alexander: but his ſucceſs did not anſwer his deſign, and in one day he loſt above eight thouſand men.

(d) Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himſelf, came at laſt to the aſſiſtance of his ſon-in-law, and entered Paleſtine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by Ammonius againſt the life of Philometor. As Alexander refuſed to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conſpiracy himſelf, and, in conſequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-aſcending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to ſhew their reſentment. Having diſcovered him diſguiſed like a woman, they ſacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared againſt Alexander himſelf, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have ſet him upon the throne. But that prince, aſſuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, inſtead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his anceſtors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alex-

(d) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 146.

(e) Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmoſt diligence, and put all to fire and ſword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with 500 horſe to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entruſted his children. Betrayed by the perſon in whom he had placed moſt confidence, his head was cut off, and ſent to Ptolemy, who expreſſed great joy at the ſight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died ſome few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the ſame time; the firſt after a reign of five years, and the ſecond after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, aſſumed the ſurname of *Nicator*, that is to ſay, the Conqueror. The ſucceſſion of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECT. IV. PHYSCON *eſpouſes* CLEOPATRA, *and aſcends the throne of Egypt.* DEMETRIUS *in Syria abandons himſelf to all manner of exceſſes.* DIODOTUS, *ſurnamed* TRYPHON, *cauſes* ANTIOCHUS, *the ſon of* ALEXANDER BALA, *to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He ſeizes* JONATHAN *by treachery, and puts him to death.* DEMETRIUS *undertakes an expedition againſt the Parthians, who take him priſoner.* CLEOPATRA *his wife eſpouſes* ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, *brother of* DEMETRIUS, *and places him upon the throne of Syria.* PHYSCON's *exceſſive follies and debauches.* ATTALUS PHILOMETOR *ſucceeds* ATTALUS *his uncle, whom he cauſes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himſelf, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions.* ARISTONICUS *ſeizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her huſband, who was at the ſame time her brother, endeavoured to place (f) the crown upon the head of the ſon ſhe had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Phyſcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and ſent to deſire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the neceſſity of her defence,

(e) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. (f) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joſeph. contr. App. l. ii. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

* He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.

ſence, cauſed Onias and Doſithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her aſſiſtance. There was at that time a Roman ambaſſador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Phyſcon ſhould marry Cleopatra and educate her ſon, who ſhould be declared heir to the crown; and that Phyſcon ſhould poſſeſs it during his life. He had no ſooner married the queen, and taken poſſeſſion of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her ſon in her arms.

I have already obſerved, that the ſurname of Phyſcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himſelf was *Evergetes*, which ſignifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to ſay, on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a ſurname to which he had the juſteſt title.

In Syria *(g)* affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Laſthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whoſe aid he had aſcended the throne. He was a corrupt and raſh man, and behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he ſoon loſt his maſter the hearts of thoſe who were moſt neceſſary to his ſupport.

The firſt wrong ſtep which he took, was in regard to the ſoldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garriſons. If he had left thoſe garriſons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Inſtead of gaining them, or at leaſt of treating them well, upon ſome umbrage which he conceived, he ſent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the ſame garriſons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian ſoldiers; which maſſacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was ſtill in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of juſt horror for ſo barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he cauſed the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for all thoſe who had been concerned againſt himſelf or his father in the laſt wars, and puniſhed all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all theſe executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greateſt part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and ſome other foreigners, in his ſervice. By that means he not only deprived himſelf of the old troops, who had ſerved under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained

(g) Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20 - 37. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

tained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greateſt enemies, by depriving them of the ſole means they had to ſubſiſt. He found this fully verified in the inſurrections and revolutions which afterward happened.

Jonathan however, ſeeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the deſign of delivering the nation at length from the evils it ſuffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters ſtill held in Jeruſalem. He inveſted it, and cauſed machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occaſion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for puſhing the ſiege vigorouſly in his abſence, and ſet out to meet him with ſome of the prieſts and principal perſons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent preſents, and appeaſed the king and his miniſters ſo ſucceſsfully, that he not only cauſed the accuſations, which had been formed againſt him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was diſcharged from all duties, cuſtoms and tributes, for the ſum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch *(b)*, and continuing to give himſelf up immoderately to all kind of exceſſes, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhauſted, and the whole nation diſpoſed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon, who had formerly ſerved Alexander, and had ſhared the government of Antioch with Hierax, ſeeing the people in this diſpoſition, found the occaſion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprize, which was to ſet the crown upon his own head, by the favour of theſe diſorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the perſon and education of Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander Bala, had been entruſted. He laid a ſtate of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the diſcontent of the people, and in particular of the ſoldiery, and ſtrongly repreſented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for ſetting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince ſhould be put into his hands, in order to his being reſtored to his rights. His view

(b) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. lii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

* 300,000 *crowns.*

view was to make uſe of the pretenſions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himſelf of the young prince, and aſſume the crown to himſelf, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real deſign, or did not entirely approve his ſcheme, did not give into it at firſt. Tryphon was obliged to continue a conſiderable time with him, to ſolicit and preſs him. At length between the force of importunity and preſents, he gained Zabdiel's conſent, and obtained what he demanded.

(i) Jonathan carried on the ſiege of the citadel of Jeruſalem with vigour, but ſeeing that he made no progreſs, he ſent deputies to Demetrius, to deſire that he would withdraw the garriſon which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himſelf involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible averſion for his perſon and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would ſend troops to chaſtiſe the mutineers. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men immediately. As ſoon as the king had them, believing himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake every thing, he reſolved to diſarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they ſhould all deliver up their arms. Upon this they roſe, to the number of 120,000 men, and inveſted the palace, with deſign to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to diſengage him, diſperſed that multitude with fire and ſword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or deſtroyed very near an hundred thouſand of the inhabitants. The reſt, intimidated by ſo great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceaſed. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jeruſalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppreſſions, put many more perſons to death for the laſt ſedition, confiſcated the eſtates of others, and baniſhed a great number. All his ſubjects conceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that there wanted nothing but an occaſion for riſing, and making him experience the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preſerved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than

(i) A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not obſerve the treaty he had made with him. Though the ſum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not deſiſt from demanding all the uſual impoſts, cuſtoms, and tributes, with the ſame rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilſt things were in this unſteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus the ſon of Alexander into Syria, and cauſed his pretenſions to the crown to be declared by a manifeſto. The ſoldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crouds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his enſigns againſt Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themſelves maſters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the king of Syria, and gave him the ſurname of *Theos*, which ſignifies *the God*.

Jonathan, diſcontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commiſſion was ſent them, whereby they were empowered to raiſe troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Of theſe troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted ſeparately, and obtained ſeveral victories over the enemy.

Tryphon *(k)*, ſeeing all things brought to the deſired point for executing the project he had formed of deſtroying Antiochus, and of poſſeſſing himſelf of the crown of Syria, found no other obſtacle to his deſign, than on the part of Jonathan, whoſe probity he knew too well, even to ſound him upon entering into his views. He reſolved therefore to rid himſelf, at whatever price it coſt him, of ſo formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came alſo to Bethſan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he ſhould get nothing by force againſt ſo powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuſe him with fine words, and the warmeſt aſſurances of a ſincere friendſhip. He gave him to underſtand, that he was come thither only to conſult him upon their common intereſts, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was reſolved to make him a preſent of as a free gift. He deceived him ſo well by theſe proteſtations of friend-

(k) 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

friendſhip, and obliging offers, that he diſmiſſed all his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only one thouſand about his perſon. He ſent the reſt towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of it. He had no ſooner entered the place, than the gates were ſhut upon him. Jonathan was immediately ſeized, and all his followers put to the ſword. Troops were alſo detached directly to follow and ſurprize the 2000 men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themſelves well, and to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were ſuffered to proceed, and arrived all ſafe at Jeruſalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not loſe courage. They choſe Simon by univerſal conſent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, ſet themſelves at work with all poſſible ſpeed to complete the fortifications, begun by Jonathan at Jeruſalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched againſt him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourſe to the ſame artifices which had ſucceeded ſo well with Jonathan. He ſent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arreſt, becauſe he owed the king an hundred talents *; that if he would ſend him that ſum, and Jonathan's two ſons as hoſtages for their father's fidelity, he would cauſe him to be ſet at liberty. Though Simon ſaw clearly, that this propoſal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reaſon to reproach himſelf with being the occaſion of his brother's death, by refuſing to comply with it, he ſent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithſtanding, did not releaſe his priſoner, but returned a ſecond time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with deſign to put all things to fire and ſword. Simon kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he fruſtrated his deſigns, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, *(l)* on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, cauſed Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus

(l) A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. xxxi.

* 100,000 *crowns.*

Antiochus ſecretly. He then cauſed it to be given out, that he was dead of the ſtone, and at the ſame time declared himſelf king of Syria in his ſtead, and took poſſeſſion of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he ſent to fetch his bones, interred them in the ſepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon paſſionately deſired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His uſurpation was ſo unſteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was abſolutely neceſſary to his ſupport. He ſent them a magnificent embaſſy, with a golden ſtatue of Victory of ten thouſand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the ſtatue, and cauſed the name of Antiochus, whom he had aſſaſſinated, to be inſerted upon the inſcription, as if it had come from him.

The ambaſſadors ſent by Simon to Rome *(m)* were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predeceſſors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amuſed himſelf with diverſions at Laodicea *(n)*, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debauches, without becoming more wiſe from adverſity, and without ſo much as ſeeming to have the leaſt ſenſe of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews juſt reaſon to oppoſe him and his party, Simon ſent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambaſſadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and impoſts, with a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility; upon condition that the Jews ſhould join him againſt Tryphon.

Demetrius at length *(o)* recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the Eaſt, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almoſt over-run the whole Eaſt, and ſubjected all the countries of Aſia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of thoſe countries, who were deſcended from the Macedonians, not being able to ſuffer that uſurpation, and the haughty inſolence of their new maſters, extremely ſolicited Demetrius, by repeated

(m) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40. *(n)* A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. & xiv. 38—41. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11. *(o)* Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5, & 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Oroſius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

repeated embaſſies, to come and put himſelf at their head; aſſured him of a general inſurrection againſt the Parthians; and promiſed to ſupply him with a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the Eaſt. Full of theſe hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and paſſed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himſelf maſter of the Eaſt, with that increaſe of power he ſhould be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As ſoon as he appeared in the Eaſt, the Elymæans, Perſians, Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in ſeveral engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuſcade, where he was made priſoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took ſuch firm footing, that it ſupported itſelf for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themſelves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, ſon of Priapatius, a valiant and wiſe prince. We have ſeen in what manner Arſaces founded, and his ſon Arſaces II. eſtabliſhed and fixed, this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the ſon of the ſecond Arſaces, and ſucceeded him; he was called alſo Arſaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldeſt ſon Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, becauſe he had diſcovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the ſtate, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in ſome meaſure, that he is a father, to remember ſolely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whoſe hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having ſubdued the Medes, Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrains, extended his conqueſts even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeat-

* Non multo poſt deceſſit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potiſſimum Mithridati, inſignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiuſque patria quam liberis conſulendum. *Juſtin.*

defeated Demetrius, ſubjected alſo Babylonia and Meſopotamia, ſo that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the Weſt, and the Ganges on the Eaſt.

He carried Demetrius his priſoner into all the provinces that ſtill adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to ſubmit to him, by ſhewing them the perſon they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, ſent him into Hyrcania, which was aſſigned him for his place of reſidence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a priſoner of war, though in other reſpects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His ſon Phraates, who ſucceeded him, treated him in the ſame manner.

It is obſerved particularly of this Mithridates, that having ſubjected ſeveral different nations, he took from each of them whatever was beſt in their laws and cuſtoms, and out of them compoſed an excellent body of laws and maxims of ſtate, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious uſe of his victories; by ſo much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almoſt unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wiſe cuſtoms of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himſelf out of their ſpoils. It was by this means that Mithridates eſtabliſhed the empire of the Parthians upon ſolid foundations, gave it a firm conſiſtency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which ſubſiſted many ages without change or revolution, notwithſtanding the diverſity of nations of which it was compoſed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a ſavage valour with diſcipline, and to blend the wiſe authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a conſiderable change in the affairs of the Jewiſh nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts againſt the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preſervation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to ſecure the one and the other. In a general aſſembly of the prieſts, the elders, and the whole people at Jeruſalem, Simon was choſen general, to whoſe family they had moſt eſſential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of ſovereign, as well as that of high-prieſt: they declared this double power,

civil and ſacerdotal, hereditary in his family. Theſe two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his perſon. After his death both dignities deſcended jointly to his poſterity, and continued united for many generations.

(p) When queen Cleopatra ſaw her huſband taken and kept priſoner by the Parthians, ſhe ſhut herſelf up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's ſoldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had induſtriouſly concealed thoſe defects under appearances of lenity and goodneſs, as long as he believed it neceſſary to pleaſe the people for the ſucceſs of his ambitious deſigns. When he ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the crown, he quitted an aſſumed character that laid him under too much conſtraint, and gave himſelf up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconſiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Thoſe deſertions did not however ſufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to ſupport herſelf. She was alſo afraid, leſt the people of Seleucia ſhould chuſe rather to give her up to Tryphon, than ſupport a ſiege out of affection for her perſon. She therefore ſent propoſals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promiſed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when ſhe was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, ſhe was ſo much enraged, that ſhe obſerved no meaſures any further, and reſolved to ſeek her ſupport in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to ſupport the weight of a precarious crown, and ſhe was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him for her huſband.

This Antiochus was the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, and had been ſent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to ſecure them againſt the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been ſaid before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he aſſumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon *(q)*, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjuſt uſurpation, of whom he promiſed a ſpeedy vengeance. To engage him in his intereſts, he made him

(p) A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140. *(q)* Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13.

him great conceſſions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he ſhould aſcend the throne.

(r) Accordingly the beginning of the following year, he made a deſcent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; and after having eſpouſed Cleopatra, and joined what troops ſhe had with his own, he took the field and marched againſt Tryphon. The greateſt part of that uſurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe.

Tryphon could not make head againſt him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus beſieged him there by ſea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long againſt ſo powerful an army. Tryphon eſcaped by ſea towards Orthoſia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the uſurpation, and aſcended his father's throne, which he poſſeſſed nine years. His paſſion for hunting occaſioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidah*, which has the ſame ſignification in the Syriack language.

Simon, eſtabliſhed in the government of Judæa by the general conſent of the nation, thought it neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they deſired. The ſenate, in conſequence, cauſed the conſul Piſo to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the ſtates of Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in conſequence they ſhould not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon ſo advantageous an alliance from the neceſſity of his preſent circumſtances, and contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate, as well as to the policy

(r) A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

* *This letter was addreſſed to Demetrius, though priſoner amongſt the Parthians, becauſe the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.*

of his predeceſſors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring againſt Simon, notwithſtanding all the magnificent promiſes he had made him, and from ſending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the ſons of Simon.

Phyſcon had reigned ſeven years in Egypt *(s)*. Hiſtory relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monſtrous vices and deteſtable cruelties. Never was there a prince ſo abandoned to debauch, and at the ſame time ſo cruel and bloody. All the reſt of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both ſaid and acted in publick the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himſelf both the contempt and abhorrence of his ſubjects. Without Hierax, his firſt miniſter, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the ſame to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the ſervice of Ptolemy Phyſcon, and ſoon became his captain-general, and prime miniſter. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by cauſing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his maſter committed, by a wiſe and equitable government, and by preventing or redreſſing them as much as poſſible, he had been till then ſo fortunate as to ſupport the tranquillity of the ſtate.

(t) But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that firſt miniſter were no longer capable of reſtraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worſe than ever. Phyſcon, without any reaſon, cauſed the greateſt part of thoſe to be put to death, who had expreſſed the moſt zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He alſo put to death, or at leaſt, baniſhed, moſt of thoſe who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments, during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and

(s) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. & l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, & 2. *(t)* A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

and murder at diſcretion, he terrified Alexandria ſo much, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it neceſſary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almoſt a deſart. To ſupply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houſes, he cauſed proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whoſoever would come and ſettle there, of whatſoever nation they were, ſhould meet with the greateſt encouragements and advantages. There were conſiderable numbers whom this propoſal ſuited very well. The houſes that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongſt thoſe who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philoſophers, geometricians, phyſicians, muſicians, and other maſters in the liberal ſciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and ſciences began to revive in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; in a word, in every place to which the illuſtrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the ſucceſſors of Alexander had almoſt extinguiſhed the ſciences in all thoſe countries, and they would have been entirely loſt in thoſe times of confuſion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The firſt of thoſe princes, by founding his Muſeum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almoſt all the learned men of Greece. The ſecond and third following the founder's ſteps in that reſpect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and ſciences were moſt cultivated, whilſt they were almoſt abſolutely neglected every where elſe. Moſt of the inhabitants of that great city ſtudied, or profeſſed ſome or other of thoſe polite arts, in which they had been inſtructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppreſſion of the tyrant, of whom I ſpeak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their moſt general recourſe for ſubſiſtence was to make it their buſineſs to teach what they knew. They opened ſchools in thoſe countries for that purpoſe, and as they were preſſed by neceſſity, they taught at a low price, which very much increaſed the number of their diſciples. By this means the arts and ſciences began to revive wherever they were diſperſed; that is to ſay, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the ſame manner as they took new birth in the Weſt, after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that ſtrangers came in crowds to (u) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambaſſadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to ſend frequent embaſſies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greateſt perſons in the ſtate were ſent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Aſia, and Greece; and to ſee in what condition the affairs of thoſe countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were obſerved; and to remedy whatever they ſhould find amiſs. They diſcharged themſelves of this commiſſion with ſo much equity, juſtice, and addreſs, and rendered ſuch great ſervices to thoſe to whom they were ſent, in reſtoring order amongſt them, and in accommodating their differences, that as ſoon as they returned to Rome, ambaſſadors came from all parts where they had paſſed, to return the ſenate thanks for having ſent perſons of ſuch extraordinary merit amongſt them, and whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs they could never ſufficiently admire.

The firſt place they went to, according to their inſtructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themſelves, they affected ſtate ſo little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greateſt perſonage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Paneſius the philoſopher, and five domeſticks *. Not his domeſticks, ſays an hiſtorian, but his victories were conſidered: he was not eſteemed for his gold or his ſilver, but for his perſonal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole reſidence at Alexandria, the king cauſed them to be ſerved with whatever was moſt delicate and exquiſite, they never touched any thing but the moſt ſimple and common meats; deſpiſing all the reſt, as ſerving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp aſſumed their place.

When the ambaſſadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to viſit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt.

(u) Cic in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, & l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. legat. xxxii.

* Cum per ſocios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia ſed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argenti, ſed quantum amplitudinis onus ſecum ferret, æſtimabatur. *Val. Max.*

Egypt. They ſaw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themſelves, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the ſtrength of its natural ſituation; the fertility of its ſoil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Phyſcon, who then reigned, was nothing leſs than a king. Nothing was ſo wretched as the idea he gave them of himſelf in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and ſhall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the ſequel. The deformity of his * body ſufficiently correſponded with that of his mind: nothing was ever worſe put together. His ſtature was of the ſmalleſt, and with that he had a belly of ſo enormous a ſize, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeneſs of his belly occaſioned his being called by the nickname of *Phyſcon*. Upon this wretched perſon he wore ſo tranſparent a ſtuff, that all his deformity might be ſeen through it. He never appeared in publick but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of fleſh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unleſs when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, ſmiling, *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for ſeeing their king walk on foot.*

We muſt confeſs, to the reproach of royalty, that moſt of the kings, of whom we now ſpeak, diſhonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itſelf, by the moſt horrid vices. It is ſurpriſing to ſee in that long liſt of kings, whoſe hiſtory we have related, how few there are who deſerve that name. What compariſon is there between thoſe monſters of diſſolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambaſſadors, who was as great a prodigy of wiſdom and virtue as could be found amongſt the Pagans? Juſtin accordingly ſays of him, that whilſt he viſited and conſidered with curioſity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himſelf a ſight to the whole city. *Dum inſpicit urbem, ipſe ſpectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

* Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & ſtatura brevis, & ſagina ventris non homini ſed belluæ ſimilis. Quam fœditatem nimia ſubtilitas perlucidæ veſtis augebat, prorſus quaſi aſtu inſpicienda præberentur, quæ omni ſtudio occultanta pudibundo viro erant. *Juſtin.* l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus ſays, πρόεισι μεθ' ἡμέραν πεζὸς; εἰ μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα· *Which the interpreter tranſlates,* Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, ſed perpetuo Scipione ſubnixus; *inſtead of* niſi propter Scipionem.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, died (x) about the times of which we now ſpeak. His nephew, of the ſame name, called alſo Philometor, ſucceeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the beſt education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had ſons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, moſt princes thinking no leſs of transferring their crowns to their poſterity, than of preſerving them to themſelves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the moſt extravagant and pernicious manner. He was ſcarce upon the throne before he ſtained it with the blood of his neareſt relations, and the beſt friends of his houſe. He cauſed almoſt all who had ſerved his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that ſome of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a diſeaſe in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable diſtemper, with which ſhe had been taken very naturally. He put others alſo to death upon ſuſpicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He cauſed theſe executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expreſly ſent for from the moſt ſavage and cruel of nations, to make them the inſtruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having maſſacred and ſacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the moſt deſerving perſons of his kingdom, he ceaſed to ſhew himſelf abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and eat no longer in publick. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which perſons accuſed of capital crimes uſed to do in thoſe days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other ſpecies of folly. He renounced the cares of ſtate, and retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himſelf, and ſow all ſorts of venomous, as well as wholeſome, herbs; then poiſoning the good with the juice of the bad, he ſent them in that manner as preſents to his friends. He paſt all the reſt of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his

(x) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 370.

his ſubjects, was of no long duration, for it laſted only five years.

He took it into his head to practiſe the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of braſs to be erected to his mother. Whilſt he was at work in caſting the metal, on a hot ſummer's day, he was ſeized with a fever, which carried him off in ſeven days, and delivered his ſubjects from an abominable tyrant.

(y) He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expreſſed in theſe terms, *(z)* LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES. As ſoon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occaſion, and aſcending the tribunal of harangues, propoſed a law to this effect, That all the ready money which ſhould ariſe from the ſucceſſion to this prince, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens, who ſhould be ſent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves in their new poſſeſſions, and to ſupply them with the tools and other things neceſſary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the ſenate had no right to paſs any decree in regard to them, and that he ſhould leave the diſpoſal of them to the people; which extremely offended the ſenate. That tribune was killed ſome ſmall time after.

(a) Ariſtonicus, however, who reported himſelf of the blood-royal, was active to take poſſeſſion of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the ſon of Eumenes by a courtezan. He eaſily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, becauſe they had been long accuſtomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refuſed at firſt to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

(b) As his party grew ſtronger every day, the Romans ſent the conſul Craſſus Mucianus againſt him. It was obſerved of this general, that he was ſo perfectly maſter of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed

(y) A. M 3871. Ant. J. C. 133. *(z)* Plut. in Gracch. For. l. ii. c. 20. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. & xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. *(a)* A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132. *(b)* A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of thoſe who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the ſtates of Aſia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

(c) Notwithſtanding ſuch powerful ſupports, having engaged in a battle with diſadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconſul, was defeated, and himſelf made priſoner. He avoided the ſhame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Ariſtonicus, who cauſed his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The conſul Perpenna, who had ſucceeded Craſſus, ſoon revenged his death. Having made all haſte into Aſia, he gave Ariſtonicus battle, entirely routed his army, beſieged him ſoon after in Stratonice, and at length made him priſoner. All Phrygia ſubmitted to the Romans.

(d) He ſent Ariſtonicus to Rome in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treaſures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected conſul, was haſtening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Ariſtonicus ſet out; and ſome time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of diſeaſe at Pergamus. Aquilius ſoon terminated this war, which had continued almoſt four years. Lydia, Caria, the Helleſpont, Phrygia, in a word, all that compoſed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Aſia.

The ſenate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared againſt the Romans, as well in this laſt war, as in that againſt Antiochus, ſhould be deſtroyed. The inhabitants of Marſeilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in queſtion, ſent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the ſenate and people in their favour. As juſt as their indignation was againſt Phocæa, they could not refuſe that favour to the ardent ſolicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the higheſt conſideration, and who rendered themſelves ſtill more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expreſſed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in

(c) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. *(d)* A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

in that war. But after his death they diſpoſſeſſed his ſon, the Great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left ſix children. Rome, to reward in the ſons the ſervices of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderneſs of a parent, but the cruelty of a ſtep-mother. To ſecure all authority to herſelf, ſhe poiſoned five of her children, and the ſixth would have had the ſame fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megæra, whoſe crimes the people ſoon revenged by a violent death.

(e) Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Ariſtonicus, after having been ſhewn there for a ſight to the people, was carried to priſon, where he was ſtrangled. Such were the conſequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arſaces, king of Parthia, accuſes the Romans of having * forged a falſe will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Ariſtonicus, the ſon of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: but it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more ſurpriſing that Horace in one of his odes ſeems to make the Roman people the ſame reproach, and to inſinuate, that they had attained the ſucceſſion by fraud:

(f) Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I ſeiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in hiſtory of any ſecret intrigue or ſolicitation to that effect on the ſide of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the conſequences of this will without interruption. I ſhall now reſume the thread of my hiſtory.

(e) A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126. *(f)* Hor. Od xviii. l. 2.

* Simulato impio teſtamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Ariſtonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hoſtium more per triumphum duxere. *Apud Salluſt. in Fragm.*

SECT. V. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES *beſieges* JOHN HYRCANUS *in Jeruſalem. That city ſurrenders by capitulation. He makes war againſt the Parthians, and periſhes in it.* PHRAATES, *king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians.* PHYSCON *commits moſt horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it.* CLEOPATRA, *his firſt wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of* DEMETRIUS, *and is ſoon reduced to leave Egypt.* PHYSCON *returns thither, and re-aſcends the throne. By his means* ZEBINA *dethrones* DEMETRIUS, *who is ſoon after killed. The kingdom is divided between* CLEOPATRA, *the wife of* DEMETRIUS, *and* ZEBINA. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS *aſcends the throne of Syria. The famous* MITHRIDATES *begins to reign in Pontus.* PHYSCON'*s death.*

SIMON having been ſlain *(g)* by treaſon, with two of his ſons, John another of them, ſurnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-prieſt and prince of the Jews in his father's ſtead. Here ends the hiſtory of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all poſſible haſte to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Jeruſalem, where he ſuſtained a long ſiege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions he cauſed propoſals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Thoſe, who were about the king's perſon, preſſed him to take the advantage of the preſent occaſion for exterminating the Jewiſh nation. They repreſented to him, recurring to paſt ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the reſt of mankind, as they had no communication with any but thoſe of their own ſect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the ſame gods; that they had laws, cuſtoms, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deſerved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well

(g) A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 131. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. in Eclog. i. p. 901.

well as Joſephus, ſays, that it was from the pure effect of the generoſity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewiſh nation was not entirely deſtroyed on this occaſion.

He was well pleaſed to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the beſieged ſhould ſurrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jeruſalem ſhould be demoliſhed; and that a tribute ſhould be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: the peace was concluded upon theſe conditions. Antiochus alſo demanded, that the citadel of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt, and would have put a garriſon into it; but Hyrcanus would not conſent to that, upon account of the miſeries the nation had ſuffered from the garriſon of the former citadel, and choſe rather to pay the king the ſum of * 500 talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and becauſe it could not be immediately ratified, hoſtages were given, amongſt whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going *(b)* to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes ſent him rich and magnificent preſents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own uſe. Scipio received them in publick, ſitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they ſhould be delivered to the † quæſtor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and ſoldiers who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice. By ſuch conduct a generous and noble ſoul is known.

Demetrius Nicator *(i)* had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all elſe is miſery. He had made ſeveral attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without ſucceſs. He was twice retaken in the midſt of his flight, and puniſhed only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the ſame magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodneſs and clemency in the Parthians; intereſt had ſome ſhare in it. They had views of making themſelves maſters of

(b) A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii. *(i)* A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9, & 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oroſ. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. & l. x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

* 500,000 *crowns.* † *The quæſtor was the treaſurer of the army.*

the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-eſtabliſh Demetrius upon the throne, they might take poſſeſſion of it for themſelves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this deſign or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched againſt Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late uſurpation of the richeſt and fineſt provinces of the Eaſt, which his anceſtors had always poſſeſſed from the time of Alexander, was a ſtrong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulſion. His army was upwards of 80,000 men, well armed and diſciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it ſo great a multitude of ſutlers, cooks, paſtry-cooks, confectioners, actors, muſicians, and infamous women, that they were almoſt four times as many as the ſoldiers, and might amount to about 300,000. There may be ſome exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds were deducted, there would ſtill remain a numerous train of uſeleſs mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of thoſe that adminiſtered to it. * Gold and ſilver glittered univerſally, even upon the legs of the private ſoldiers. The inſtruments and utenſils of the kitchen were ſilver, as if they had been marching to a feaſt, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great ſucceſs at firſt. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the Eaſt, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and ſubmitted to him, except Parthia itſelf, where Phraates found himſelf reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his ſhare in all theſe victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The reſt of the army paſſed the winter in the Eaſt. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to ſeparate, and remove ſo far from each other, that they could not eaſily rejoin and form a body, in caſe of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they inſulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troubleſome gueſts that nothing could ſatisfy, conſpired

* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro gerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quo que argentea inſtrumenta fuere quaſi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent. *Juſtin.*

conſpired with the Parthians to maſſacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to aſſemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him, but was overpowered by numbers, and periſhed himſelf. All the reſt of the army were either maſſacred in their quarters the ſame day, or made priſoners; ſo that out of ſo great a multitude, ſcarce any eſcaped to carry the ſad news of this ſlaughter into Syria.

It occaſioned great grief and conſternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince eſtimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch *(k)* relates a ſaying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having loſt himſelf a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of ſome poor people, who received him in the beſt manner they could, without knowing him. At ſupper, having himſelf turned the converſation upon the perſon and conduct of the king, they ſaid, that he was in every thing elſe a good prince, but that his too great paſſion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repoſe too much confidence in his courtiers, whoſe actions did not always correſpond with the goodneſs of his intentions. Antiochus made no anſwer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had paſſed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my ſervice, I have not heard a truth concerning myſelf till yeſterday.*

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at laſt releaſed Demetrius, and ſent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occaſion ſuch troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the maſſacre, he detached a party of horſe to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with ſo much diligence, that he had paſſed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occaſion, whilſt all the reſt of Syria were in tears, deploring the loſs of the army, in which few families had not ſome relation.

Phraates cauſed the body of Antiochus to be ſought for amongſt the dead, and put into a coffin of ſilver. He ſent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his anceſtors, and

(k) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

and having found one of his daughters amongſt the captives, he was ſtruck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead *(l)*, Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and diviſions, which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himſelf maſter of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiouſly for him. He laboured alſo at the ſame time to render himſelf abſolute and independent. He ſucceeded ſo well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himſelf nor any of his deſcendants depended in the leaſt upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of ſubjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates *(m)*, fluſhed with his great ſucceſſes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invaſion of his dominions. But, whilſt he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of diſquieting others abroad. Finding himſelf vigorouſly purſued by Antiochus, as we have ſeen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no farther occaſion for them, he would not give them the ſums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms againſt himſelf, to avenge themſelves for the injuſtice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have diſguſted ſo powerful a nation by a mean and ſordid avarice, and he committed a ſecond, no leſs conſiderable, in the war itſelf. To ſtrengthen himſelf againſt that nation, he ſought aid from a people to whom he had made himſelf more hateful than to the Scythians themſelves; theſe were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the laſt war againſt him, and had been made priſoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he ſhould conſiderably reinforce them by that means. But when they ſaw themſelves with arms in their hands, they were reſolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had ſuffered during their captivity; and as ſoon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave ſuch a turn to the battle, whilſt the victory was in ſuſpence, that Phraates was defeated with a great ſlaughter of his troops. He periſhed himſelf in the purſuit, and almoſt his

(l) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. *(m)* A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1, & l. xlii. c. 1, & 2.

his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themſelves with plundering the country, and then retired to their ſeveral homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed ſome days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his ſucceſſor, who for his glorious actions was ſurnamed the Great.

During all theſe revolutions *(n)* in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Phyſcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already obſerved, that on his marriage with his ſiſter Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the ſon ſhe had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a diſguſt for the mother, he fell paſſionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called alſo Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He ſoon made himſelf hated alſo by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and ſupply the place of thoſe his firſt cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he reſolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force conſiſted. For that purpoſe, he cauſed them to be inveſted one day by his foreign troops in the place of exerciſe, when the aſſembly there was moſt numerous, and put them all to the ſword. The whole people ran in a fury to ſet fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his eſcape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his ſon Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raiſed troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

(o) But firſt, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his ſon king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he cauſed him to come to him, and put him to death as ſoon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falſely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more againſt him.

(n) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oroſ. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix, lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 374—376. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.
(o) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

him. They pulled down and daſhed to pieces all his ſtatues in Alexandria. He believed, that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards cauſed the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a cheſt, with the head entire, that it might be known, and ſent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princeſs, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to preſent it to her. His orders were obeyed. The cheſt was delivered to her in the midſt of the rejoicings of the feaſt, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expreſſed, which the view of that ſad object excited againſt the tyrant, whoſe monſtrous barbarity had perpetrated ſo unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable preſent was expoſed to the view of the publick, with whom it had the ſame effect as with the court, who had firſt ſeen that ſad ſpectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monſter from ever re-aſcending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marſyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the neceſſary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Phyſcon having raiſed an army on his ſide, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and ſent him againſt the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marſyas priſoner, and ſent him laden with chains to Phyſcon; it was expected that ſo bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the moſt exquiſite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and ſet him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himſelf honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loſs of her army, which was almoſt entirely cut to pieces in the purſuit, ſent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldeſt daughter by Philometor, and promiſed him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without heſitation, accepted that propoſal, marched with all his troops, and laid ſiege to Peluſium.

That prince was no leſs hated by the Syrians for his haughtineſs, tyranny, and exceſſes, than Phyſcon by the Egyptians. When they ſaw him at a diſtance, and employed in the

the ſiege of Peluſium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them thoſe of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own ſubjects to obedience. Cleopatra, deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected from him, embarked with her treaſures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra, the daughter, had been firſt married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the lifetime of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken priſoner by the Parthians, and detained amongſt them, ſhe had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, ſhe returned to Demetrius her firſt huſband, who being ſet at liberty by the Parthians, had repoſſeſſed himſelf of Syria: ſhe kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

(p) Phyſcon, as ſoon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-aſſumed the government. For after the defeat of Marſyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppoſe him. After having employed ſome time in ſtrengthening himſelf, to revenge the invaſion of Demetrius, he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the ſon of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himſelf out for the ſon of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Phyſcon lent him an army to put him in poſſeſſion of it. He was no ſooner in Syria, than, without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the perſon who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damaſcus in Cœloſyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongſt the Parthians, took this occaſion to be revenged, and cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut againſt him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of diſpute and emulation between the princes and princeſſes, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves moſt by wickedneſs and the blackeſt crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reſerved to herſelf part of the kingdom: Zebina had all

(p) A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127.

all the reſt; and, to eſtabliſh himſelf the better, made a ſtrict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able ſtateſman, took the advantage of theſe diviſions to ſtrengthen himſelf, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other conſiderable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had ſent the preceding year an *(q)* embaſſy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The ſenate received thoſe ambaſſadors very graciouſly, and granted them all they demanded. And becauſe Antiochus Sidetes had made war againſt the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken ſeveral cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and ſome other places, of which he had made ceſſion to them; and had made them conſent by force to a diſadvantageous peace, by beſieging the city of Jeruſalem: upon what the ambaſſadors repreſented to the ſenate on theſe heads, they condemned all that had been done in ſuch manner againſt the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and reſolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the reſt of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenour of that treaty, ſhould be reſtored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other ſubjection. It was alſo concluded, that the Syrians ſhould make amends for all loſſes that the Jews had ſuſtained from them in contravention to the ſenate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria ſhould renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we ſpeak of *(r)*, incredible ſwarms of graſshoppers laid Africa waſte in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the ſea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the ſhore, where they rotted, and infected the air to ſuch a degree, that they occaſioned a peſtilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and ſome other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thouſand ſouls.

We have ſaid, that Cleopatra *(s)* had poſſeſſed herſelf of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her huſband. He left two ſons by that princeſs, the eldeſt

(q) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. *(r)* A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oroſ. l. v. c. 11. *(s)* A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

eldeſt of which, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of aſcending the throne of his father, and accordingly cauſed himſelf to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her ſon's intention to eſtabliſh himſelf to her prejudice. She had alſo reaſon to fear, that he might deſire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known ſhe had been the cauſe. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breaſt. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman, and a mother, could be capable of committing ſo horrid and exceſſive a crime: but when ſome unjuſt paſſion takes poſſeſſion of the heart, it becomes the ſource of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itſelf with poniards, and from having recourſe to poiſon; becauſe urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to deſtroy every thing which oppoſes that view.

Zebina had made himſelf maſter of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted againſt him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and reſolved to defend that place againſt him. But he found means to reconcile them. They ſubmitted, and he pardoned them with the moſt uncommon clemency and greatneſs of ſoul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all that approached him in the moſt affable and engaging manner, ſo that he acquired the love of all men, and even of thoſe who abhorred the impoſture by which he had uſurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſervants. His ſon, who ſucceeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who diſputed ſo long the empire of Aſia with the Romans, and ſupported a war of almoſt thirty years duration againſt them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I ſhall make his hiſtory a ſeparate article.

(t) Cleopatra, after having killed her eldeſt ſon, believed it for her intereſt to make a titular king, under whoſe name ſhe might conceal the authority ſhe intended to retain entirely to herſelf. She rightly diſtinguiſhed, that a warlike people, accuſtomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilſt filled only by a princeſs, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that ſhould ſet up for it. She therefore cauſed her ſon Antiochus to return from Athens, whither ſhe had ſent him for

(t) A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 132.

for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as ſoon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no ſhare in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he ſuffered her to govern for ſome time with patience enough. To diſtinguiſh him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the ſurname of * *Grypus*, taken from his great noſe. Joſephus calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

(u) Zebina having well eſtabliſhed himſelf, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the poſſeſſion of part of the Syrian empire, Phyſcon, who looked upon him as his creature, inſiſted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refuſed in direct terms to comply wth that demand. Phyſcon reſolved to throw him down as he had ſet him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he ſent a conſiderable army to the aſſiſtance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a deſign of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being diſcovered, the inhabitants roſe, and drove him out of the city. He wandered ſome time about the country from place to place, but was taken at laſt, and put to death.

(x) After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus believing himſelf of ſufficient years, reſolved to take the government upon himſelf. The ambitious Cleopatra, who ſaw her power diminiſhed, and grandeur eclipſed by that means, could not ſuffer it. To render herſelf abſolute miſtreſs of the government of Syria again, ſhe reſolved to rid herſelf of Grypus, as ſhe had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her ſons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, ſhe was in hopes of poſſeſſing the royal authority for many years, and of taking ſuch meaſures as might eſtabliſh her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poiſoned draught for that purpoſe, which ſhe preſented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from ſome exerciſe. But that prince having been apprized of her deſign, deſired her firſt, by way of reſpect, to drink the cup herſelf, and upon her obſtinate refuſal to do it, having called in ſome witneſſes, he gave her to underſtand, that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf of the

(u) A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122. *(x)* A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

* Γρυπὸς *in Greek, ſignifies a man with an aquiline noſe.*

the ſuſpicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor ſhe had preſented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herſelf without evaſion or reſource, ſwallowed the draught. The poiſon had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monſter, who by her unheard-of crimes had been ſo long the ſcourge of the ſtate. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occaſioned the death of two of her huſbands, and as to her children, ſhe had murdered one with her own hands, and would have deſtroyed Grypus by the poiſon he made her drink herſelf. That prince afterwards applied himſelf with ſucceſs to the affairs of the publick, and reigned ſeveral years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occaſioned the troubles we ſhall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Phyſcon, king of Egypt *(y)*, after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at laſt in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

SECT. VI. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS *ſucceeds* PHYSCON. *War between* GRYPUS *and his brother* ANTIOCHUS *of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria.* HYRCANUS *fortifies himſelf in Judæa. His death.* ARISTOBULUS *ſucceeds him, and aſſumes the title of king. He is ſucceeded by* ALEXANDER JANNÆUS. CLEOPATRA *drives* LATHYRUS *out of Egypt, and places* ALEXANDER *his youngeſt brother on the throne in his ſtead. War between that princeſs and her ſons. Death of* GRYPUS. PTOLEMY APION *leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chuſe* TIGRANES *king.* LATHYRUS *is re-eſtabliſhed upon the throne of Egypt. He dies.* ALEXANDER *his nephew ſucceeds him.* NICOMEDES, *king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.*

PHYSCON *(z)* at his death left three ſons. The firſt, named Apion, was a natural ſon, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children

(y) Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix. *(z)* A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. ſub finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 385.

* *The three kings of Syria, who had been her huſbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four ſons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.*

dren of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldeſt was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to chuſe. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the moſt complaiſant, reſolved to chuſe him; but the people would not ſuffer the eldeſt to loſe his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither ſhe had cauſed him to be baniſhed by his father, and to aſſociate him with her on the throne. Before ſhe would ſuffer him to take poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhe obliged him to repudiate his eldeſt ſiſter Cleopatra, whom he paſſionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger ſiſter, for whom he had no inclination. Diſpoſitions of this kind promiſe no very pacifick reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of hiſtorians diſtinguiſh him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

(a) Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's ſide. He was the ſon of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilſt Demetrius was priſoner amongſt the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and re-poſſeſſed himſelf of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his ſafety, had ſent him to Cyzicum, a city ſituate upon the Propontis, in Myſia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom ſhe had entruſted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poiſoned. His deſign was diſcovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretenſions to the crown of Syria.

(b) Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herſelf at her own diſpoſal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an † army for her dowry, to aſſiſt

(a) A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114.

* Λάθυρος *ſignifies a kind of pea, called in Latin* cicer, *from which came the ſurname of* Cicero. *Lathyrus muſt have had ſome very viſible mark of this ſort upon his face, or the name had been inconſiſtent.*

(b) A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

† *We find in the latter editions of Juſtin the following words*; exercitum Grypi ſollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit; *which*

aſſiſt him againſt his competitor. Their forces, by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her ſecurity in that place, and went himſelf to raiſe new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid ſiege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earneſt with him to put Cleopatra his priſoner into her hands. Though her ſiſter by father and mother, ſhe was ſo exceſſively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army againſt them, that ſhe reſolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a ſanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaiſance for his wife, which he ſaw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the ſanctity of the aſylum where her ſiſter had taken refuge; and repreſented, that her death would neither be of uſe to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his anceſtors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exerciſed againſt the women, eſpecially ſo near relations. That Cleopatra was her ſiſter, and his near * relation. That therefore he deſired her to ſpeak no more of her to him, becauſe he could by no means conſent to her being treated with any ſeverities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reaſons, became more violent by conceiving jealouſy; and imagining that it was not from the motive of compaſſion, but love, that her huſband took the part of that unfortunate princeſs in ſuch a manner, ſhe therefore ſent ſoldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which ſhe embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thouſand curſes againſt the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whoſe ſight ſo barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two ſiſters, did not ſeem to be affected at all with either the

which ſhews, that Cleopatra having ſucceeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her huſband. Several editions read Cypri *inſtead of* Grypi, *which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.*

* *Her father Phyſcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.*

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuit, tanto muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non miſericordiæ hæc verba, ſed amoris eſſe. *Juſtin.*

the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was ſolely ſuſceptible of ambition, was ſo taken up with the deſire of reigning, that ſhe had no other thoughts than of the means of ſupporting herſelf in Egypt, and of retaining an abſolute authority in her own hands during her life. To ſtrengthen herſelf the better, ſhe gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon, in order to draw from him the aſſiſtance ſhe might have occaſion for, in caſe Lathyrus ſhould ever diſpute the authority ſhe was determined to keep.

(c) The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpuniſhed. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a ſecond time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her ſiſter had well deſerved.

(d) Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aſpendus in Pamphylia, which occaſioned his being ſometimes called in hiſtory the Aſpendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, and took up his reſidence at Damaſcus. Grypus had all the reſt, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other exceſſes.

Whilſt the two brothers *(e)* were exhauſting their forces againſt one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious ſloth and eaſe, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and ſeeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He ſent Ariſtobulus and Antigonus, two of his ſons, to form the ſiege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damaſcus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle enſued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and purſued as far as Scythopolis, eſcaping with great difficulty.

(f) The two brothers after this victory returned to the ſiege, and preſſed the city ſo vigorouſly, that it was obliged a ſecond time to ſend to the Cyzicenian, to ſolicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raiſing of the ſiege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the ſame head, who granted ſix

(c) A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112. *(d)* A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111. *(e)* A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19. *(f)* A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

ſix thouſand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both miniſters and generals, the ſons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, thoſe two miniſters, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, ſhe would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almoſt reſolved to depoſe Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her conſent, and even againſt her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the ſiege, and contented himſelf with flying parties and excurſions, to ravage the country by way of diverſion, and to reduce the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, in order to defend themſelves at home. But ſeeing that the Jewiſh army did not move, and that his own was much diminiſhed by the defeat of ſome parties, deſertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expoſe his perſon by continuing in the field with an army ſo much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his beſt generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The firſt was killed in a raſh enterprize, in which his whole party periſhed with him. Epicrates, ſeeing no hopes of ſucceſs, had no farther thoughts but of ſerving his private intereſt in the beſt manner he could in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He treated ſecretly with Hyrcanus, and for a ſum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians poſſeſſed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a ſum perhaps inconſiderable enough.

Samaria, deſtitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having ſuſtained a ſiege for a year, to ſurrender at laſt to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. The walls of the city, and the houſes of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he cauſed large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had ſtood, into which water was turned. It was not re-eſtabliſhed till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, he cauſed to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebaſtos *, in honour of Auguſtus.

Hyrcanus ſaw himſelf at that time maſter of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the moſt conſiderable princes of

* Σεβαστος, *in Greek, ſignifies Auguſtus.*

his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he paſſed the reſt of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

(g) But towards the cloſe of his life he did not find the ſame repoſe at home. The Phariſees, a violent and rebellious ſect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profeſſion of an attachment to the law, and a ſeverity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great ſway amongſt the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all ſorts of favours, to engage them in his intereſts. Beſides, having been educated amongſt them, and having always profeſſed their ſect, he had protected and ſerved them upon all occaſions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a ſpeech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He repreſented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be juſt in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Phariſees: that he conjured them therefore, if they ſaw that he departed in any thing from the great end he propoſed to himſelf in thoſe two rules, that they would give him their inſtructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a diſpoſition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and diſcernment.

The whole aſſembly applauded this diſcourſe, and highly praiſed him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, roſe up, and ſpoke to him to this effect: "Since you deſire that the truth ſhould be told "you with freedom, if you would prove yourſelf juſt, re"nounce the high-prieſthood, and content yourſelf with the "civil government." Hyrcanus was ſurprized, and aſked him what reaſons he had to give him ſuch counſel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the teſtimony of ancient perſons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the ſon of a ſtranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar (h) would have had reaſon; for the law was expreſs in that point: but it was a falſe ſuppoſition, and a mere calumny; and all that were preſent extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expreſſed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occaſioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incenſed at ſo inſolent an attempt to defame

(g) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. (h) Lev. xxiv. 15.

fame his mother, and call in queſtion the purity of his birth, and, in conſequence, his right to the high-prieſthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incenſe him againſt the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful ſects in Judæa, but directly oppoſite to each other in ſentiments and intereſts, entirely divided the ſtate; that of the Phariſees, and that of the Sadducees. The firſt piqued themſelves upon an exact obſervance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their anceſtors, and to which they much more ſtrictly adhered than to the law itſelf, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the ſoul, and, in conſequence, another life after this. They affected an outſide of virtue, regularity, and auſterity, which acquired them great conſideration with the people. But under that impoſitious appearance they concealed the greateſt vices: ſordid avarice, inſupportable pride; an inſatiable thirſt of honours and diſtinctions; a violent deſire of ruling alone; an envy, that roſe almoſt to fury, againſt all merit but their own; an irreconcileable hatred for all who preſumed to contradict them; a ſpirit of revenge capable of the moſt horrid exceſſes; and what was ſtill their more diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick, and outdid all the reſt, a black hypocriſy, which always wore the maſk of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Phariſaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and moſt of thoſe who compoſed the Sanhedrim, that is to ſay, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of ſtate and religion were determined, were of the latter ſect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, inſinuated to him, that what had paſſed was not the mere ſuggeſtion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to conſult them upon the puniſhment which the calumniator deſerved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and conſulted the principal of the Phariſees upon the puniſhment due to him, who had ſo groſsly defamed the prince and high-prieſt of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their anſwer was that calumny was-

not a capital crime; and that all the puniſhment he deſerved, was to to be ſcourged and impriſoned. So much lenity in ſo hainous a caſe made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had inſinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole ſect of the Phariſees. He prohibited, by decree, the obſervation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon ſuch as diſobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himſelf into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

(i) Hyrcanus did not long ſurvive this ſtorm: he died the year following, after having been high-prieſt and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the hiſtory of other kingdoms, I ſhall reſerve the greateſt part of what regards the ſucceſſors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I ſhall treat the hiſtory of the Jews ſeparately.

We have ſeen that Ptolemy Lathyrus *(k)* had ſent an army into Paleſtine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithſtanding her oppoſition. She carried her reſentment ſo high upon this attempt, and ſome others of a like nature, againſt her authority, that ſhe took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two ſons *, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have ſome of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an aſſembly of the people at Alexandria. She cauſed it to be reported, that he had uſed them ſo barbarouſly for having endeavoured to defend her againſt his violence, and enflamed the people ſo much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he deſigned to kill her, that they immediately roſe univerſally againſt Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not eſcaped from the port in a ſhip, which ſet ſail as ſoon as he got on board. Cleopatra ſent ſoon after for Alexander her youngeſt ſon, to whom ſhe had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's ſtead, whom ſhe obliged to content himſelf with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, *(l)* king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched againſt the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, where he beſieged them. They ſent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in perſon. But the beſieged changing their ſentiments,

(i) A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107. *(k)* Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.
(l) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

* *Thoſe two ſons died before him.*

timents, from the apprehenſion of having him for their maſter, Lathyrus diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating ſecretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Paleſtine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and reſolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the ſiege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied; and with the other marched in perſon againſt Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had ſupplied Lathyrus with a conſiderable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander loſt 30,000 men, without including the priſoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A moſt cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occaſion. The ſame evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and cauſed them all to be put to the ſword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dreſſed, as if he intended to make his army ſup upon them. His deſign was to have it believed, that his troops eat human fleſh, to ſpread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe ſuch a barbarity poſſible, or that any man ſhould ever conceive ſo wild a thought? Joſephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waſte all the flat country. Without the ſuccours brought by Cleopatra the following year Alexander had been undone, for after ſo conſiderable a loſs it was impoſſible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head againſt his enemy.

(m) That princeſs ſaw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himſelf maſter of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was neceſſary to put a ſtop to his progreſs. For that purpoſe ſhe raiſed an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have ſpoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the ſame time, to tranſport her troops;

(m) A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.

and embarking with them herſelf, landed in Phœnicia *(n)*. She carried with her a great ſum of money, and her richeſt jewels. For their ſecurity, in caſe of accident, ſhe choſe the iſle of Cos for their repoſitory, and ſent thither at the ſame time her grandſon Alexander, the ſon of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himſelf maſter of that iſland, and of the treaſures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education ſuitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by ſtealth from Mithridates, ſome time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and, at length, ſet him upon the throne of Egypt, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœloſyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to purſue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the ſiege of Ptolemais herſelf. Chelcias, who commanded the firſt detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a ſtop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the diſorder occaſioned by that loſs, threw himſelf with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the abſence of his mother, who had carried her beſt troops into Phœnicia. He was miſtaken. *(o)* The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of thoſe ſhe detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his deſign. He was reduced to return into Paleſtine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however puſhed the ſiege of Ptolemais with ſo much vigour, that ſhe at laſt took it. As ſoon as ſhe entered it, Alexander made her a viſit, and brought rich preſents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced moſt to his ſucceſs, was her hatred for her ſon Lathyrus; which was alone ſufficient to aſſure him of a good reception.

Some perſons of Cleopatra's court obſerved to her, that ſhe had now a fair opportunity of making herſelf miſtreſs of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by ſeizing his perſon: they even preſſed her to take advantage of it, which ſhe would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he repreſented to her, how baſe and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that

(n) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186, & de Bel. Civil. p. 414. *(o)* A. M. 3932. Ant. J. C. 102.

that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſts, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews diſperſed throughout the world. In fine, he ſo effectually uſed his reaſons and credit, which he employed to the utmoſt for the preſervation of his countryman and relation, that ſhe came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wiſe miniſter, who has courage enough to oppoſe their unjuſt undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jeruſalem, where he at length ſet another good army on foot, with which he paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara.

(p) Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual againſt Paleſtine, whilſt his mother ſupported it, abandoned that deſign, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her ſide, retired alſo into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being *(q)* informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damaſcus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diverſion, gave her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and ſent him, at the ſame time, a conſiderable number of troops, and great ſums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair ſucceeded as ſhe had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had ſo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to aſſiſt Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his deſign.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom ſhe had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herſelf, ſhocked by the barbarous cruelty with which ſhe purſued his brother Lathyrus, eſpecially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and obſerving beſides, that the greateſt crimes coſt her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himſelf ſafe near her, and choſe to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in baniſhment, to reigning with ſo wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant ſolicitation he was

(p) A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101. *(q)* Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

prevailed upon to return; for the people could not reſolve that ſhe ſhould reign alone, though they well knew that ſhe gave her ſon only the name of king; that from the death of Phyſcon ſhe had always engroſſed the royal authority to herſelf; and that the real cauſe of Lathyrus's diſgrace, which had coſt him his crown and wife, was his having preſumed to act in one inſtance without her.

(r) The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was aſſaſſinated by Heracleon, one of his own vaſſals, after having reigned twenty-ſeven years. He left five ſons; Seleucus the eldeſt ſucceeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionyſius. They were all kings in their turns, or at leaſt pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion *(s)*, ſon of Phyſcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without iſſue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, inſtead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which ſoon filled the whole country with tyrants; becauſe the moſt powerful perſons of each of thoſe ſmall ſtates were for making themſelves ſovereigns of them. Lucullus, in paſſing that way againſt Mithridates, remedied thoſe diſorders in ſome meaſure; but there was no other means of re-eſtabliſhing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian ſeized Antioch *(t)*, after the death of Grypus, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſpoſſeſs Grypus's children of the reſt of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in poſſeſſion of many other good cities, maintained himſelf againſt him, and found means to ſupport his right.

Tigranes, ſon of Tigranes king of Armenia *(u)*, who had been kept an hoſtage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was releaſed at his death, and ſet upon the throne, on condition that he ſhould reſign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he eſpouſed the part of Mithridates againſt the Romans. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The

(r) A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. *(s)* A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 5. *(t)* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. *(u)* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

The Cyzicenian (x), who ſaw that Seleucus ſtrengthened himſelf every day in Syria, ſet out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made priſoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Euſebes, ſon of the Cyzicenian, who made his eſcape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus *, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king. (y) From thence he marched with a conſiderable army againſt Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Mopſueſtia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppreſſed the inhabitants ſo much by the impoſition of groſs ſubſidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, inveſted the houſe where he reſided, and ſet it on fire. Himſelf, and all who were in it, periſhed in the flames.

(z) Antiochus and Philip, the twin-ſons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raiſe againſt Mopſueſtia. They took and demoliſhed the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return, Euſebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in edeavouring to ſwim his horſe over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a conſiderable body of men, which ſoon increaſed to ſuch a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and diſpute the empire with Euſebes.

The latter, to ſtrengthen himſelf upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politick princeſs, upon her huſband's death, had found means to ſecure part of the empire in her own poſſeſſion, and had provided herſelf with good troops. Euſebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom ſhe had been taken, to avenge himſelf for that injury, ſent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth ſon of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damaſcus. Euſebes and Philip were too much employed againſt each other to prevent that blow. For though Euſebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, ſtill ſupported himſelf, and at laſt ſo totally defeated Euſebes in a great battle, that

(x) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. (y) A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93. (z) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

* *An iſland and city of Phœnicia.*

he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongſt the Parthians, whoſe king at that time was Mithridates II. ſurnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Euſebes, aſſiſted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, re-poſſeſſed himſelf of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell alſo upon his hands, almoſt at the ſame time: this was Antiochus Dionyſius, his brother, the fifth ſon of Grypus. He ſeized the city of Damaſcus, made himſelf king of Cœloſyria, and ſupported himſelf in it for three years.

Affairs *(a)* were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to ſuffer a companion in the ſupreme authority, nor to admit her ſon Alexander to ſhare the honour of the throne with her, reſolved to rid herſelf of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her deſign, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monſter of a woman, who had ſpared neither mother, ſons, nor daughters, and had ſacrificed every thing to the ambitious deſire of reigning. She was puniſhed in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myſelf, is ſtruck with horror at the ſight of ſo dreadful a ſcene as our hiſtory has for ſome time exhibited. It furniſhes us no where with ſuch frequent and ſudden revolutions, nor with examples of ſo many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their neareſt relations, their brothers, ſons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated deſign, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the moſt odious and moſt inhuman means to thoſe effects. Never was the anger of heaven more diſtinguiſhed, or more dreadful than upon theſe princes and people. We ſee here a ſad complication of the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable crimes, perfidy, impoſture of heirs, divorces, poiſoning, inceſt. Princes on a ſudden become monſters, diſputing treachery and wickedneſs with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and diſappearing as ſoon; reigning only to ſatiate their paſſions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a ſituation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the ſtate are in confuſion, all laws deſpiſed, juſtice aboliſhed, all crimes ſecure of

(a) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and ſeems to call for it in the loudeſt manner.

As ſoon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had cauſed his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide ſo odious to his ſubjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he ſupported himſelf to his death. Alexander having got ſome ſhips together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without ſucceſs. He periſhed ſoon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians *(b)*, weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the houſe of Seleucus for the ſovereignty, and not being able to ſuffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually expoſed, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and to ſubmit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils thoſe diviſions occaſioned, and to reſtore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and ſent ambaſſadors to acquaint him with their reſolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occaſion for him againſt the Romans.

Euſebes, being driven out of his dominions by his ſubjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he paſſed the reſt of his days in concealment and obſcurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in ſome action againſt Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Euſebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, and *(c)* reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education worthy of their birth. The eldeſt was called Antiochus Aſiaticus, and the youngeſt Seleucus Cybioſactes. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

(b) A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Juſtin. l. xl. c. 1 & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. *(c)* Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvi. p. 196.

Some time *(d)* after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a conſiderable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, ſhut themſelves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themſelves with incredible obſtinacy. It was at length taken after a ſiege of three years. Lathyrus uſed it with ſo much rigour, that from being the greateſt and richeſt city till then in Egypt, it was almoſt reduced to nothing.

(e) Lathyrus did not long ſurvive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-ſix years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and ſeven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, ſucceeded him, who was his only legitimate iſſue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of that houſe all the ſons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla *(f)*, at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, ſent Alexander to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the neareſt heir male of the defunct. He was the ſon of that Alexander, who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already ſet Cleopatra upon the throne, and ſhe had been ſix months in poſſeſſion of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the maſter of Rome, and, in conſequence, diſpenſer of law to the univerſe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he ſhould marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no aſſociate in the throne, cauſed her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in thoſe times, and might be ſaid to have grown into faſhion among princes and princeſſes.

Some time *(g)* after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia, died, having firſt made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did alſo the ſame year. The Romans, inſtead of appropriating the latter to themſelves, had granted it liberty.

Twenty

(d) Pauſan. in Attic. p. 15. *(e)* A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81. *(f)* Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. p. 60. *(g)* A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx, & xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p 492.

Twenty years had paſſed ſince, during which term ſedition and tyranny had occaſioned infinite calamities. It is ſaid, that the Jews, who had been long ſettled there, and compoſed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to thoſe diſorders. The Romans, to put a ſtop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the laſt king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII. SELENA, *ſiſter of* LATHYRUS *conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; ſhe ſends two of her ſons to Rome for that purpoſe. The eldeſt, called* ANTIOCHUS, *on his return goes to Sicily.* VERRES, *prætor of that iſland, takes from him a golden ſconce, deſigned for the Capitol.* ANTIOCHUS, *ſurnamed* ASIATICUS, *after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is diſpoſſeſſed of part of his dominions by* POMPEY, *who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel* ALEXANDER *their king, and ſet* PTOLEMY AULETES *on the throne in his ſtead.* ALEXANDER, *at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In conſequence, ſome years after, they order* PTOLEMY, *king of Cyprus, brother of* AULETES, *to be depoſed, confiſcate his fortunes, and ſeize that iſland. The celebrated* CATO *is charged with this commiſſion.*

(b) SOME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occaſioned by the diſguſt taken againſt Alexander, made Selena, the ſiſter of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She ſent her two ſons, Antiochus Aſiaticus and Seleucus, whom ſhe had by Antiochus Euſebes, to Rome, to ſolicit the ſenate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which ſhe had always oppoſed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with thoſe of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a reſidence

(b) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61 - 67.

* Reges Syriæ, regis Antiochi filios pueros, ſcitis Romæ nuper fuiſſe: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id ſine controverſiâ obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant: ſed regnum Ægypti ad ſe & Selenam matrem ſuam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, poſtquam temporibus populi Romani excluſi, per ſenatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti ſunt.

dence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual ſolicitations, they ſet out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldeſt *, called Antiochus, reſolved to paſs by the way of Sicily. He experienced an inſult there, which is hardly credible, and ſhews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we ſpeak of, to what exceſs the avarice of the magiſtrates ſent into the provinces roſe, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the ſight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time the prætor in Sicily. As ſoon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuſe, as he had reaſon to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by ſending Antiochus preſents conſiderable enough, conſiſting in proviſions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to ſupper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables ſet off with all his veſſels of the moſt excellent workmanſhip, of which he had a great number. The feaſt was ſumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing ſhould be wanting to make it ſo. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and ſtill better ſatisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He ‡ invites Verres to ſupper in his turn; expoſes all his riches, multitudes of ſilver veſſels, and not few cups of gold ſet with jewels, after the cuſtom of kings, and eſpecially thoſe of Syria. There was among the reſt a very large veſſel for wine, made out of one precious ſtone. Verres takes each of theſe veſſels into his hand one after the other, praiſes

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque iſto (Verre) prætore venit Syracuſas. Hic Verres hæreditatem ſibi veniſſe arbitratus eſt, quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem iſte & audierat multa ſe um præclara habere, & ſuſpicabatur. Mittit homini munera ſatis larga: hæc ad uſum domeſticum, vini, olei quod viſum erat, etiam tritici quod ſatis eſſet. Deinde ipſum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vaſa argentea.——Omnibus curat rebus inſtructum & paratum ut ſit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita diſceſſit, ut & iſtum copioſe ornatum, & ſe honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

‡ Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipſe prætorem. Exponit ſuas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, qua ut mos eſt regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant diſtincta clariſſimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi.——Iſte unumquodque vos in manus ſumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani ſatis jucundum & gratum illud eſſe convivium.

praiſes and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment.

From * thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and ſend him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He ſent to deſire that he would let him have the fineſt of the veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhewing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or ſuſpicion. The prætor ſent again, to deſire that he would lend him the veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might conſider them more exactly, as he ſaid. The king ſent him that alſo.

But to crown all, † the kings of Syria, of whom we ſpeak, had carried a branch-ſconce with them to Rome, of ſingular beauty, as well from the precious ſtones with which it was adorned, as its exquiſite workmanſhip. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finiſhed, they would not leave it behind them, nor ſuffer any body to have a ſight of it; in order, that when it ſhould appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the ſurprize might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new ſplendor to the preſent. They therefore choſe to carry it back into Syria, reſolving to ſend ambaſſadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongſt many others, to the god, when they ſhould know that his ſtatue was ſet up in the temple.

Ver-

* Poſtea quam inde diſceſſum eſt, cogitare iſte nihil aliud, quod ipſa res declaravit, niſi quemadmodum regem ex provincia ſpoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum va'a ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait ſe ſuis cælatoribus velle oſtendere. Rex, qui iſtum non noſſet, ſine ulla ſuſpicione libentiſſime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle ſe eam diligentius conſiderare. Ea quoque mittitur.

† Nunc reliquum, judices, attend te——Candelabrum è gemmis clariſſimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges h', quos dico, Romam cum attuliſſent ut in Capitolio ponerent; quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò oſtendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius videretur, cum ſuo tempore in ſella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, & clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id ſecum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audiſſent ſimulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

Verres * was informed of all this by ſome means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the ſconce concealed; not that he feared or ſuſpected any thing, but that few people might ſee it before expoſed to the publick view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earneſtly begged him to ſend it him, expreſſing a great deſire to examine it, and promiſing to let nobody elſe ſee it. The young prince, with the candour and ſimplicity of whoſe youth the noble ſentiments of his birth were united, was far from ſuſpecting any bad deſign. He ordered his officers to carry the ſconce ſecretly to Verres, well covered from ſight; which was done accordingly. As ſoon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a preſent worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly ſplendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanſhip, in which art ſeemed to vie with the materials; and at the ſame time of ſo large a ſize, that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh, it was not intended to be uſed in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vaſt and ſuperb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to conſider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leiſure, and that his curioſity was not yet ſufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the ſconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The † king was not alarmed at firſt, and had no ſuſpicion: one day, two days, ſeveral days paſſed, and the ſconce was not

* Pervenit res ad iſtius aures neſcio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut ſuſpicaretur, ſed ut ne multi illud antè percipierent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iſte petit a rege, cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad ſe mittat: cupere ſe dicit inſpicere, neque ſe aliis videndi poteſtatem eſſe facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili eſſet & regio, nihil de iſtius improbitate ſuſpicatus eſt. Imperat ſuis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultiſſime deferrent. Quò poſteaquàm attulerunt, involucriſque rejectis conſtituerunt, iſte clamare cœpit, dignam rem eſſe regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo ſplendore, qui ex clariſſimis & plurimis gemmis eſſe debebat; ea varietate operum ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi poſſet, non ad hominum apparatum, ſed ad ampliſſimi templi ornamentum, eſſe factum. Quod cum ſatis jam perſpexiſſe videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iſte ait ſe velle illud etiam atque etiam conſiderare: nequaquam ſe eſſe ſatiatum. Jubet illos diſcedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

† Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil ſuſpicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad iſtum, ſi ſibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iſte poſterius ad ſe reverti.

not brought home. The prince therefore ſent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in perſon to him, and prayed him to reſtore it. Who would believe it? That very ſconce, which he knew from the prince himſelf was to be ſet up in the Capitol, and deſigned for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earneſtly intreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excuſing himſelf, both from the vow he had made to conſecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgement which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanſhip of it, and knew for whom it was deſigned, would paſs upon ſuch an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the ſharpeſt terms; but when he ſaw his menaces had no more effect than his intreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reaſon, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The * king upon that withdrew to the publick place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous aſſembly of the Syracuſans, calling the gods and men to witneſs, that Verres had taken from him a ſconce of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other veſſels of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to ſee that ſconce taken from him by violence, was a

reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipſe hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis inſignemque impudentiam cognoſcite. Quod ſciret, quodque ex ipſo rege audiſſet, in Capitolio esſe ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. ſervari videret, id ſibi ut donaret, rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille ſe religione Jovis Capitolini & hominum exiſtimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes teſtes eſſent illius operis ac muneris: iſte homini minari acerrime cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem diſcedere. Ait ſe comperiſſe, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam eſſe venturos.

* Rex maximo conventu Syracuſis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque conteſtans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium miſſurus eſſet, quod in templo clariſſimo, populo Rom. monumentum ſuæ ſocietatis amicitiæque eſſe voluiſſet, id ſibi C. Verrem abſtuliſſe. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ ſua penes illum eſſent, ſe non laborare: hoc ſibi eripi miſerum eſſe & indignum. Id etſi antea jam, mente & cogitatione ſuæ fratriſque ſui, conſecratum eſſet: tamen tum ſe in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, conſecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. teſtemque ipſum Jovem ſuæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconſolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that ſconce was already conſecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, preſented, dedicated, and conſecrated it again to that god, in the preſence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witneſs to the ſentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

(i) Antiochus Aſiaticus, being returned into Aſia, ſoon after aſcended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the ſpace of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war againſt Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been ſo groſsly injured by the prætor himſelf, a gueſt plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the higheſt indignity and violence! and what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almoſt all the magiſtrates ſent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the ſenate and people ſeemed to approve, and of which they made themſelves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We * have ſeen for "ſeveral years," ſays the ſame Cicero, in another of his orations againſt Verres, "and have ſuffered in ſilence, the "wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a "few private perſons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Mile"tus, Chio, Samos, in fine, all Aſia, Achaia, Greece, "Sicily, are now encloſed in ſome of the country-houſes "of thoſe rich and unjuſt men of rapine, whilſt money is "univerſally a prodigious rarity every where elſe. And we "have juſt reaſon to believe, that ourſelves connive in all theſe "crying and terrible diſorders, as thoſe who commit take "no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their "thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of "the publick."

Such

(i) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

* Patimur multos jam annos & ſilemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias perveniſſe. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo iſtorum diſſimulat, nemo laborat, ut obſcura ſua cupiditas eſſe videatur.——Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum eſſe arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam, totam denique Aſiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis incluſas eſſe videatis. *Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl.* n. 125, 126.

Such was Rome at the time we now ſpeak of, which ſoon occaſioned its ruin, and the loſs of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to conſider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a ſtate, to examine their cauſes and effects, to enter thus into men's moſt ſecret retirements, to uſe that expreſſion, to ſtudy cloſely the characters and diſpoſitions of thoſe who govern, is a much more important part of hiſtory, than that which only treats of ſieges, battles, and conqueſts: to which however we muſt return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and ſeditions, occaſioned by the powerful faction of the Phariſees, that continually oppoſed him, becauſe he was not of a diſpoſition to ſuffer himſelf to be rid by them. His death *(k)* did not put an end to thoſe diſorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed ſupreme adminiſtratrix of the nation, according to the king's laſt will. She cauſed her eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-prieſt. The Phariſees continually perſiſted in perſecuting thoſe who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princeſs, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her ſole heir, but Ariſtobulus, his younger brother, had the ſtrongeſt party and took his place.

Nothing *(l)* but troubles and violent agitations were to be ſeen on all ſides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a baſtard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate ſon. He was ſurnamed *Auletes*, that is to ſay, *the player upon the flute*, becauſe he valued himſelf ſo much upon playing well upon that inſtrument, that he diſputed the prize of it in the publick games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, becauſe they were foreign to his commiſſion. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there ſome time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The ſucceſſion was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had poſſeſſed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had ſuſtained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into

(k) A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 75. Joſeph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 23, 34. & de Bell. Judaic. r. 4. A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. *(l)* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

into conſideration by the ſenate. Some *(m)* were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Egypt, and of the iſland of Cyprus, of which the teſtator had been ſovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the ſenators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken poſſeſſion of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been alſo given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all thoſe countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they alſo accepted Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and expreſs too clearly a deſign formed to engroſs in the ſame manner all other ſtates. They believed beſides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarraſs them very much, whilſt they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themſelves for the preſent with cauſing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the reſt of his eſtates. This proceeding ſufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the ſequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very ſingular cuſtom, and almoſt unheard-of in all other hiſtory, which undoubtedly does great honour to thoſe in whoſe favour it was eſtabliſhed. The uſual methods of extending the bounds of a ſtate, are war, victory, and conqueſt. But with what enormous injuſtice and violence are thoſe methods attended, and how much devaſtation and blood muſt it coſt to ſubject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are ſhed. It is a pacifick and legitimate increaſe of power, the ſimple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another ſort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being ſo, but it is no leſs dangerous on that account, I mean ſeduction: When to obtain the ſuffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, ſecret colluſions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the perſons of the higheſt credit and authority in ſtates and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a diſtance, and do not ſeem

(m) Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

ſeem to have any ſhare. In this we now ſpeak of, there was no viſible trace of a policy ſo common with princes, and which, far from making any ſcruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the firſt, if I am not miſtaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any ſtrict union with that republick, during the ſhort time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from uſing any arts to attain the ſucceſſion to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in ſome meaſure obliged to it againſt their will. It does not appear that they were more ſolicitous, either in publick or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced theſe princes to act in this manner? Firſt, gratitude: the houſe of Attalus was indebted for all its ſplendor to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them againſt Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the deſire of procuring a laſting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful ſucceſſors; for baſtards were not looked upon as ſuch. They had only in view the future diviſions and civil wars that might ariſe about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria ſupplied them with dreadful examples. They ſaw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happineſs enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the ſituation of which we ſpeak, had but three things to chuſe; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to reſtore to his ſubjects their entire liberty, by inſtituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The firſt choice undoubtedly expoſed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealouſies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his ſubjects induced him to ſpare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the ſecond choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whoſe genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republicks. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependance upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy,

and

and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a ſhare in the preſent queſtion, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates ſupply us with examples of the ſame kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wiſely than to leave his ſubjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and reſpected by the whole univerſe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjuſt and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil diviſions and bloody diſcords did he ſpare them by this kind of teſtamentary diſpoſition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble diſintereſtedneſs, having refuſed the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itſelf up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thouſand factions, furious to madneſs againſt each other, and, in a word, become like a ſhip without a pilot in the midſt of the moſt violent ſtorms, it ſuffered many years the moſt incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in ſome manner to force, the Romans to vouchſafe to take the government of it upon themſelves.

Beſides this, a prince by ſuch conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageouſly for his people, what muſt neceſſarily have happened ſooner or later. Was there any city or ſtate capable of making head againſt the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, eſpecially when the royal family was extinct, could ſupport itſelf, and its independence, long againſt them? There was an inevitable neceſſity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reaſon it was highly conſiſtent with prudence to ſoften the yoke by a voluntary ſubjection. For they made a great difference between the people who ſubmitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and thoſe who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at laſt to a conqueror. We have ſeen with what ſeverity the Macedonians, at leaſt the principal perſons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; eſpecially during the firſt years of their ſubjection.

The other nations ſuffered nothing of that kind, and generally ſpeaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by thoſe who bore it. The ſubjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themſelves, was rather

rather a means to aſſure the publick tranquillity, than a ſervitude heavy upon private perſons, and prejudicial to ſociety. Moſt of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magiſtrates, and wanted very little of enjoying intire liberty. They were by that means ſecured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of a war with their neighbours, which had ſo long and ſo cruelly diſtreſſed the republic of Greece in the time of their anceſtors. So that the Greeks ſeemed to be great gainers in ranſoming themſelves from theſe inconveniences, by ſome diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces ſometimes ſuffered very much from the avarice of governors. But thoſe were only tranſient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodneſs and juſtice of a worthy ſucceſſor applied a ſpeedy redreſs, and which, after all, were not comparable to the diſorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians againſt each other, were attended, and ſtill leſs to the violences and ravages, occaſioned by the inſatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and ſtates.

An evident proof of the wiſdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed againſt that diſpoſition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuſe the Romans entirely in this place, nor to juſtify their conduct in all things. I have ſufficiently obſerved the views of intereſt, and political motives of their actions. I only ſay, that the Roman government, eſpecially with regard to thoſe who ſubmitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the ſource of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppreſſors, who made the Roman people authorize the moſt flagrant injuſtice, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee an example: but there was always a conſiderable number of citizens, zealous for the publick good, who roſe up againſt thoſe violences, and declared loudly for juſtice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius *(n)*, who commanded a ſmall fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken priſoner by the pirates of that coaſt, againſt whom he had been ſent. He cauſed Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be deſired in his name

(n) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

name to ſend him money to pay his ranſom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, ſent him only two talents. The pirates choſe rather to releaſe Clodius without ranſom, than to take ſo ſmall an one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as ſoon as poſſible. He had found means to get himſelf elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made uſe of it for the deſtruction of his enemy. He pretended that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in conſequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to ſeize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depoſe Ptolemy, and to confiſcate all his effects. To put ſo unjuſt an order in execution, he had credit and addreſs enough to have the juſteſt of the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republick, under the pretext of an honourable commiſſion, that he might not find him an obſtacle to the violent and criminal deſigns he meditated. Cato was therefore ſent into the iſle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deſerved that affront, ſays an hiſtorian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vice ſufficiently authorized ſeizing all his fortunes.

Cato *(o)*, upon his arrival at Rhodes, ſent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promiſed him, if he complied, to procure him the high-prieſthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were ſufficiently conſiderable for his honourable ſubſiſtence. Ptolemy rejected that propoſal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himſelf againſt the power of the Romans; but could not reſolve, after having worn a crown ſo long, to live as a private perſon. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treaſures, and put to ſea. His deſign was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ſhip, that it might ſink with him, and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpoſe, though he perſiſted conſtantly in the reſolution of dying himſelf, he had not

(o) Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* P. Clodius in ſenatu ſub honorificentiſſimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in inſulam Cyprum, ad ſpoliandum regno Ptolemæum omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 45.

not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treaſures thereby in his ruin; and thereby * ſhewed, that he loved them better than he did himſelf; by title king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean ſlave of his money. He returned to ſhore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poiſoned himſelf, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried thoſe treaſures the following year to Rome. The ſum was ſo large, that in the greateſt triumphs the like had ſcarce been laid up in the publick treaſury. Plutarch makes it amount to almoſt 7000 talents, (1,050,000l. ſterling.) Cato cauſed all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be ſold publickly; reſerving only to himſelf a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the ſentiments of which ſect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the maſk, and ſhew themſelves not ſuch as they had been in the glorious ages of the republick, full of contempt for riches, and eſteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and ſilver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of diſgracing and reproaching the Romans than this laſt action. "† The Roman people," ſays Cicero, "inſtead of making it their honour and almoſt "their duty, as formerly, to re-eſtabliſh the kings their "enemies, whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, "now ſee a king, their ally, or at leaſt a conſtant friend to "the republick, who had never done them any wrong, of "whom neither the ſenate nor any of our generals had ever "the leaſt complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by "his anceſtors in tranquillity, plundered on a ſudden with-"out any formality, and all his effects ſold by auction "almoſt before his eyes, by order of the ſame Roman peo-

* Proculdubio hic non poſſedit divitias, ſed a divitiis poſſeſſus eſt; titulo rex inſulæ, animo pecuniæ miſerabile mancipium.

† Ptolemæus, rex, ſi nondum ſocius at non hoſtis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil ſuſpicante, eſt ro-gatum, ut ſedens cum purpura & ſceptro & illis inſignibus regiis, præconi publico ſubjiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere conſuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur —— Cyprius miſer, qui ſemper ſocius, ſemper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam ſuſpicio durior aut ad ſenatum, aut ad imperatores noſtros allata eſt: vivus (ut aiunt) eſt & videns, cum victu & veſtitu ſuo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges ſtabilem eſſe ſuam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funeſti anni perdito exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem ſe fortunis ſpoliari (poſſe) & regno omni nudari. *Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.* n. 57.

" people. This," continues Cicero, " ſhews other kings, " upon what they are to rely for their ſecurity; from this " fatal example they learn, that amongſt us, there needs " only the ſecret intrigue of ſome ſeditious tribune, for de- " priving them of their thrones, and plundering them at the " ſame time of all their fortunes."

What I am moſt amazed at is, that Cato, the juſteſt and moſt upright man of thoſe times, (but what was the moſt ſhining virtue and juſtice of the Pagans!) ſhould lend his name and ſervice in ſo notorious an injuſtice. Cicero, who had reaſons for ſparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, ſhews, however, in the ſame diſcourſe I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excuſing him, how much he had diſhonoured himſelf by that action.

During Cato's ſtay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reſerve for the following book the hiſtory of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

THE HISTORY OF Alexander's Succeſſors, CONTINUED.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the firſt, of the hiſtory of the Jews, from the reign of Ariſtobulus to that of Herod the Great; the ſecond of the hiſtory of the Parthians, from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of Craſſus; the third of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the hiſtory of the Jews, from ARISTOBULUS, *ſon of* HYRCANUS, *who firſt aſſumed the rank of king, to the reign of* HEROD *the Great, the Idumæan.*

AS the hiſtory of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occaſion offered, to relate of it what was moſt neceſſary and ſuitable to my ſubject. I ſhall add here what remains of that hiſtory to the reign of Herod the Great. The hiſtorian Joſephus, who is in every one's hands, will ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch as are deſirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have uſed here, may be alſo conſulted to the ſame effect.

SECT. I. *Reign of* ARISTOBULUS *the firſt, which laſted two years.*

HYRCANUS, high prieſt and prince of the Jews *(a)*, had left five ſons at his death. The firſt was Ariſtobulus, the ſecond Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Abſalom.

Ariſtobulus, as the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father in the high-prieſthood and temporal ſovereignty. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well eſtabliſhed, he aſſumed the diadem and title of king, which none of thoſe who had governed Judæa from the Babyloniſh captivity had done beſides himſelf. The conjuncture ſeemed favourable for that deſign. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of oppoſing it, were weak princes, involved in domeſtick troubles and civil wars, little ſecure upon the throne, and not maintaining themſelves long in the poſſeſſion of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the diſmembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in compariſon with themſelves. Beſides, it was natural for Ariſtobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquiſitions made by his anceſtors, who had given an aſſured and uninterrupted eſtabliſhment to the Jewiſh nation, and enabled it to ſupport the dignity of a king amongſt its neighbours.

Ariſtobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Ariſtobulus was the ſtrongeſt, and put her in priſon, where he cauſed her to be ſtarved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldeſt of them, he gave him at firſt a ſhare in the government; but ſome ſmall time after, upon a falſe accuſation, put him to death. He confined the other three in priſon during his life.

When Ariſtobulus had fully poſſeſſed himſelf of the auth rity his father had enjoyed, *(b)* he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having ſubjected the greateſt pa-t of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaiſm, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans ſome years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumciſed and profeſs the Jewiſh religion, or to quit their country and ſeek a ſettlement

(a) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 3. *(b)* A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de bel Jud. 1. 3.

ment elſewhere. They choſe to ſtay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to ſpirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Aſmoneans. It ſhews, that they had not a juſt idea of religion at that time, which does not impoſe itſelf by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by perſuaſion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in queſtion, was a part of Cœlóſyria, on the north-eaſt frontier of Iſrael, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the other ſide of the Jordan, and the territory of Damaſcus.

A diſtemper obliged Ariſtobulus to return from Ituræa to Jeruſalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illneſs, to alienate the king againſt him by falſe reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus ſoon returned to Jeruſalem after the ſucceſſes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feaſt of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himſelf time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwiſe prejudiced againſt him, ſent him orders to diſarm himſelf, and come to him as ſoon as poſſible; conceiving, if he refuſed to obey, it was a proof of ſome bad deſign: in that caſe he gave orders that he ſhould be killed. The perſon ſent by Ariſtobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king deſired to ſee him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who ſaw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Ariſtobulus, having diſcovered all that had paſſed, was violently affected with it, and, inconſolable for his death. Tormented with remorſe of conſcience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miſerable life, and expired at laſt in the higheſt grief and deſpair.

SECT. II. *Reign of* ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, *which continued twenty ſeven years.*

SALOME, the wife of Ariſtobulus *(c)*, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the priſon, into which they had been put by her huſband. Alexander

(c) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. I. 3.

Jannæus, the eldeſt of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Abſalom, who was of a peaceable diſpoſition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private perſon *(e)*, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is ſaid of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngeſt ſon of his brother Alexander, and that he ſerved him againſt the Romans at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, in which he was made priſoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilſt all this paſſed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damaſcus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander, the youngeſt of her ſons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldeſt in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, ſome time after he returned to Jeruſalem, and had taken poſſeſſion of the throne, had ſet a good army on foot, which paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himſelf maſter of that city, he took ſeveral other very ſtrong places, ſituated alſo on the other ſide of the Jordan. But not being ſufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and loſt 10,000 men, with all the ſpoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jeruſalem in the higheſt affliction for this loſs, and the ſhame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to ſee, that many people, inſtead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Phariſees, they had always been the enemies of his houſe, and eſpecially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almoſt the whole people into their party, they had ſo ſtrongly prejudiced and inflamed them againſt him, that all the diſorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this ſource.

(f) This loſs, great as it was, did not prevent his going to ſeize Raphia and Anthedon, when he ſaw the coaſt of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Thoſe two poſts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he propoſed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus againſt him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal

(e) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 8. *(f)* A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.

fatal battle of Jordan, and he earneſtly ſought all occaſions to avenge himſelf upon them.

(g) As ſoon his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to beſiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. *(k)* His own brother Lyſimachus could not ſee his glory without envy; and that baſe paſſion induced him to aſſaſſinate the governor. That wretch afterwards aſſociated with ſome others as bad as himſelf, and ſurrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to uſe his victory with clemency and moderation. But as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter of all the poſts, and that there was nothing to oppoſe him, he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to kill, plunder and deſtroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exerciſed upon that unfortunate city. The pleaſure of revenge coſt him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themſelves like men in deſpair, and killed him almoſt as many of his people as they were themſelves. But at length he ſatiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jeruſalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the moſt heinous manner *(i)*. At the feaſt of the tabernacles, whilſt he was in the temple, offering a ſolemn ſacrifice, in quality of high-prieſt, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thouſand injurious names, and amongſt the reſt giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach which ſufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazar had preſumed to advance, that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. Theſe indignities enraged Alexander to ſuch a degree, that he attacked thoſe inſolent people in perſon, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were diſaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to truſt his perſon any longer to them, and uſed foreign troops for his guard, whom he cauſed to come from Piſidia and Cilicia. Of theſe he formed a body of 6000 men, that attended him every where.

(g) A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. *(h)* A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. *(i)* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

(k) When Alexander ſaw the ſtorm which had roſe againſt him a little appeaſed by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms againſt the enemy abroad. After having obtained ſome advantages over them, he fell into an ambuſcade, wherein he loſt the greateſt part of his army, and eſcaped himſelf with great difficulty. *(l)* At his return to Jeruſalem, the Jews, incenſed at this defeat, revolted againſt him. They flattered themſelves, that they ſhould find him ſo much weakened and dejected by his loſs, that they ſhould find no difficulty in compleating his deſtruction, which they had ſo long deſired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who beſides had a more than common capacity, ſoon found troops to oppoſe them. A civil war enſued between him and his ſubjects, which continued ſix years, and occaſioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occaſions.

(m) Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had ſhut themſelves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jeruſalem, and cauſed them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the croſs, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they ſaw all that paſſed; and this ſight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the ſix years that it laſted, had coſt the lives of more than fifty thouſand men on the ſide of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great ſucceſs. Upon his return to Jeruſalem, he abandoned himſelf to intemperance and exceſs of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him, *(n)* of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty-ſeven.

He left two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife ſhould govern the kingdom during her life, and chuſe which of her ſons ſhe thought fit to ſucceed her.

(k) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. *(l)* A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.
(m) A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86. *(n)* A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Reign of* ALEXANDRA, *the wife of* ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, *which continued nine years.* HYRCANUS *her eldeſt ſon is high-prieſt during that time.*

ACCORDING to the advice of her huſband, *(o)* Alexandra ſubmitted herſelf and her children to the power of the Phariſees, declaring to them, that in doing ſo ſhe only conformed to the laſt will of her huſband.

By this ſtep ſhe gained ſo much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as poſſible, they changed it on a ſudden into a reſpect and veneration for his memory, and inſtead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented againſt him, nothing was heard but praiſes and panegyricks, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people ſo effectually, whom till then they had always irritated againſt him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predeceſſors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed ſovereign adminiſtratrix of the nation. We ſee from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Phariſees, ſtood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, diſappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with thoſe who are fond of ruling.

When that princeſs ſaw herſelf well eſtabliſhed, ſhe cauſed her eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus to be received as high-prieſt: he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promiſe, ſhe gave the adminiſtration of all important affairs to the Phariſees. The firſt thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two laſt kings, had aboliſhed all their traditional conſtitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They perſecuted with great cruelty, all thoſe who had declared themſelves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; becauſe ſhe had tied up her own hands, by putting herſelf into thoſe of the Phariſees. She had ſeen in her huſband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is

(o) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell. Jud. i. 4.

attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of thoſe revengeful and inexorable men, ſhe believed it neceſſary to ſuffer a leſs, by way of precaution againſt a greater evil.

What we have ſaid upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right ſenſe of the ſtate of the Jewiſh nation, and of the characters of thoſe who governed it.

The Phariſees always continued *(p)* their perſecutions againſt thoſe who had oppoſed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accuſation to deſtroy thoſe who gave them moſt umbrage amongſt ſuch as ſtill ſurvived.

The friends and partiſans of the late king, ſeeing no end to theſe perſecutions, and that their deſtruction was ſworn, aſſembled at laſt, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Ariſtobulus, her ſecond ſon, at their head. They repreſented to her the ſervices they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at preſent, under her government, that every thing they had done for him ſhould be made criminal, and to ſee themſelves ſacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, ſolely for their adherence to herſelf and her family. They implored her either to put a ſtop to ſuch ſort of enquiries, or if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their ſeeking an aſylum elſewhere: at leaſt they begged her to put them into garriſoned places, where they might find ſome ſecurity againſt the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was poſſible to be with the condition ſhe ſaw them in, and the injuſtice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all ſhe deſired; for ſhe had given herſelf maſters, by engaging to act in nothing without the conſent of the Phariſees. How dangerous is it to inveſt ſuch people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a ſtop to the courſe of juſtice, to ſuſpend the enquiries after the culpable; that ſuch a proceeding was what no government ought to ſuffer, and that therefore they never would come into it.

On

(p) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C 73. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1 4.

On the other ſide, the queen believed, that ſhe ought not to give her conſent, that the real and faithful friends of her family ſhould abandon their country in ſuch a manner; becauſe ſhe would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any ſupport, and would have no reſource in caſe of neceſſity. She reſolved therefore upon the third point they had propoſed to her, and diſperſed them into the places where ſhe had garriſons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the firſt was, that their enemies dared not attack them in thoſe fortreſſes, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the ſecond, that they would always be a body of reſerve, upon which ſhe could rely upon occaſion in caſe of any rupture.

(q) Some years after, queen Alexandra fell ſick of a very dangerous diſtemper, which brought her to the point of death. As ſoon as Ariſtobulus, her youngeſt ſon, ſaw that ſhe could not recover, as he had long formed the deſign of ſeizing the crown at her death, he ſtole out of Jeruſalem in the night, with only one domeſtick, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garriſon. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of thoſe towns and caſtles declared for him, which put him in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the forces of the ſtate. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel adminiſtration of the Phariſees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become inſupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all ſides to follow the ſtandards of Ariſtobulus; in hopes that he would aboliſh the tyranny of the Phariſees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind ſubmiſſion to that ſect: beſides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity neceſſary to ſo vigorous a deſign; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Phariſees ſaw that Ariſtobulus's party augmented conſiderably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to repreſent to the dying queen what had paſſed, and to demand her orders and aſſiſtance. She anſwered, that ſhe was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in ſuch affairs, and that ſhe left the care of them to the Phariſees. However, ſhe appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired ſoon after.

(q) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

As ſoon as ſhe was dead, he took poſſeſſion of the throne, and the Phariſees uſed all their endeavours to ſupport him upon it. When Ariſtobulus quitted Jeruſalem, they cauſed his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be ſhut up in the caſtle of * Baris, as hoſtages againſt himſelf. But ſeeing this did not ſtop him, they raiſed an army. Ariſtobulus did the ſame. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by moſt part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jeruſalem, and to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Baris: his partiſans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they alſo ſubmitted to Ariſtobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of* ARISTOBULUS II. *which continued ſix years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation *(r)*, that Ariſtobulus ſhould have the crown and high-prieſthood, and that Hyrcanus ſhould reſign both to him, and content himſelf with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and eaſe above all things, and quitted the government, after having poſſeſſed it three months. The tyranny of the Phariſees ended with his reign, after having greatly diſtreſſed the Jewiſh nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the ſtate were not ſo ſoon appeaſed, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaiſm. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the aſcendant of Hyrcanus their eldeſt ſon, with the hope of raiſing himſelf by his favour, when he ſhould ſucceed to the crown *(s)*. But when he ſaw all his meaſures broke by the depoſition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Ariſtobulus, from whom he had

(r) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C 69. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8 de bell. Jud. 1—5. *(s)* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de bell. Jud. 1—5.

* Baris *was a caſtle ſituate upon an high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the ſame rock.*

had nothing to expect, he employed his whole addreſs and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his ſecret negotiations, had at firſt applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinſtate himſelf. After various events, which I paſs over to avoid prolixity, he had recourſe to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition againſt Mithridates, was arrived in Syria (t). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither alſo, to demand that they ſhould be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They repreſented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accuſtomed to obey only the high-prieſt, who, without any other title, adminiſtered juſtice according to the laws and conſtitutions tranſmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the ſacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enſlave them if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Ariſtobulus had unjuſtly deprived him of his birth-right, by uſurping every thing, and leaving him only a ſmall eſtate for his ſubſiſtence. He accuſed him alſo of practiſing piracy at ſea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alledged againſt him, he produced almoſt a thouſand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expreſsly, to ſupport by their teſtimony what that prince had to ſay againſt his brother.

Ariſtobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been depoſed only for his incapacity; that his ſloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the publick affairs; that the people deſpiſed him; and that he, Ariſtobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into thoſe of ſtrangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all poſſible ſplendor and magnificence. Their ſuperb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great ſervice to his cauſe.

Pompey heard enough to diſcern, that the conduct of Ariſtobulus was violent and unjuſt, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, leſt Ariſtobulus, out of reſentment, ſhould oppoſe his deſigns againſt Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore diſmiſſed the two brothers

(t) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1—5.

thers reſpectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he ſhould paſs through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the neceſſary diſpoſitions in all things.

Ariſtobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's ſentiments, ſet out ſuddenly from Damaſcus, without paying him the leaſt inſtance of reſpect, returned into Judæa, armed his ſubjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himſelf alſo in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had deſpiſed the Roman arms; but when he ſaw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he ſent an embaſſy to make his ſubmiſſions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at firſt kept him under a guard, but at length he was releaſed upon accepting the conditions impoſed on him by the victor, who ſoon after returned to Damaſcus.

He was not apprized till then of Ariſtobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Ariſtobulus poſted in the caſtle of Alexandrion, which ſtood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely ſtrong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey ſent to bid him come down to him. Ariſtobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at laſt gave into the opinion of thoſe about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, adviſed him to go. He did ſo, and after a converſation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his caſtle. He repeated the ſame two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garriſons into his ſtrong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in caſe Pompey ſhould decree againſt him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the laſt time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of ſequeſtration, and made him ſign orders for that purpoſe to all the commanders of thoſe places.

Ariſtobulus incenſed at the violence which had been done him, as ſoon as he was releaſed, made all haſte to Jeruſalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His reſolutions to keep the crown made him the ſport of the different paſſions, hope and fear. When he ſaw the leaſt appearance that Pom-

Pompey would decide in his favour, he made uſe of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that he would declare againſt him, he obſerved a directly oppoſite conduct. Such was the contrariety viſible in the different ſteps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him cloſe. The firſt place were he encamped in his way to Jeruſalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jeruſalem. When he approached, Ariſtobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promiſing an entire ſubmiſſion, and a great ſum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and ſent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jeruſalem, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and, inſtead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not ſtand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they ſhould deceive him with impunity, ordered Ariſtobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army againſt Jeruſalem. The city was extremely ſtrong by its ſituation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors againſt itſelf, was capable of making a long defence.

Ariſtobulus's party was for defending the place; eſpecially when they ſaw that Pompey kept their king priſoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple ſtood, to defend it, and cauſed the bridges of the ditch and valley, which ſurrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, reſolved to beſiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done ſo three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprize, but for the ſuperſtitious rigour with which the beſieged obſerved the ſabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themſelves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themſelves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the ſabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the foſſes, made their approaches,

proaches, and fixed their engines without oppoſition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which ſo great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an aſſault. The place was carried ſword in hand, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued, in which more than 12,000 perſons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and diſorder of this ſlaughter, hiſtory obſerves that the prieſts, who were at that time employed in divine ſervice, continued it with a ſurprizing unconcern, notwithſtanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to ſee their friends and relations maſſacred before their eyes. Many of them ſaw their own blood mingle with that of the ſacrifices they offered, and the ſword of the enemy make themſelves the victims of their duty: happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the ſpirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his ſuperior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the ſanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-prieſt was permitted to enter once a year, upon the ſolemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews moſt againſt the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treaſures of the temple, that conſiſted principally in ſums which had been depoſited there by private families for their better ſecurity. Thoſe ſums amounted to two thouſand * talents in ſpecie, without reckoning the gold and ſilver veſſels, which were innumerable and of infinite value. † It was not, ſays Cicero, out of reſpect for the majeſty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewiſh religion, more unworthy the wiſdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more oppoſite to the inſtitutions of their anceſtors. Pompey in this noble diſintereſtedneſs had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the moſt learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blaſphemed what they knew nothing of.

It

* *Three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.*

† Cn. Pompeius, captis Hieroſolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, ſapienter, quod in tam ſuſpicioſa ac maledica civitate locum ſermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hoſtium impedimento præſtantiſſimo imperatori, ſed pudorem fuiſſe iſtorum religio ſacrorum a ſplendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis eſtri, majorum inſtitutis abhorrebat. *Cic. pro Flac. n.* 67—69.

It hath been obſerved, that till then Pompey had been ſucceſsful in all things, but that after this ſacrilegious curioſity, his good-fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jeruſalem was his laſt victory.

SECT. V. *Reign of* HYRCANUS II. *which continued twenty four years.*

(u) POMPEY, having put an end to the war, cauſed the walls of Jeruſalem to be demoliſhed, re-eſtabliſhed Hyrcanus, and ſent Ariſtobulus, with his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, priſoners to Rome. He diſmembered ſeveral cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, impoſed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the adminiſtration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal miniſters. Alexander made his eſcape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

(x) Hyrcanus finding himſelf too weak to take the field againſt him, had recourſe to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jeruſalem, and reinſtated Hyrcanus in the high-prieſthood (y). He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into ariſtocratical; but thoſe innovations were but of ſhort duration.

(z) Craſſus, upon his march againſt the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his inſatiable avarice, ſtopt at Jeruſalem, where he had been told great treaſures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the ſum of 10,000 talents, that is to ſay, about 1,500,000 l. ſterling.

Cæſar (a), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his eſcape from Rome with his father Ariſtobulus, came to throw himſelf at his feet, begged him to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints againſt Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæſar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their intereſts; for, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, without the aid he had received

(u) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. (x) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57. (y) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. (z) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. (a) A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

ceived from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miſcarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus ſhould retain the dignity of high-prieſt of Jeruſalem, and the ſovereignty of Judæa, to himſelf and his poſterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the ariſtocracy of Gabinius was aboliſhed, and the government of Judæa re-eſtabliſhed upon the ancient foot.

Antipater cauſed the *(b)* government of Jeruſalem to be given to Phaſael his eldeſt ſon, and that of Galilee to Herod his ſecond ſon.

Cæſar *(c)*, at Hyrcanus's requeſt, and in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had cauſed to be demoliſhed. Antipater, without loſing time, began the work, and the city was ſoon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæſar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, *(d)* ſon of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he ſent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, upon the throne, who on his ſide had alſo raiſed troops. Hyrcanus, and Phaſael, Herod's brother, upon the propoſal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who ſeized them, and put them in irons. Herod eſcaped from Jeruſalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to ſeize him alſo.

Having miſſed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phaſael in chains into his hands. Phaſael, who well knew that his death was reſolved, daſhed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the prieſthood, Antigonus cauſed his ears to be cut off: for according to the Levitical law *(e)*, it was requiſite that the high-prieſt ſhould be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the eaſt, from whence it would not be poſſible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. *(f)* He con-

(b) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1. 8. *(c)* A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 17. *(d)* A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 11. *(e)* Levit. xxi. 16–24. *(f)* Joſeph. Antiq. xv. 2.

continued a priſoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who cauſed his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to ſee and converſe with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-prieſt, and raiſed him a revenue ſufficient to ſupport his rank with ſplendor. The love of his native country made him forget all thoſe advantages. He returned the year following to Jeruſalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death ſome years afterwards.

Herod at firſt took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For inſtead of what he propoſed, which was at moſt to obtain the crown for * Ariſtobulus, whoſe ſiſter Mariamne he had lately married, with the view of only governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony cauſed the crown to be conferred upon himſelf, contrary to the uſual maxim of the Romans in like caſes. For it was not their cuſtom to violate the rights of the royal houſes, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to ſtrangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the ſenate, and conducted by the conſuls to the Capitol, where he received the inveſtiture of the crown, with the ceremonies uſual upon ſuch occaſions.

Herod paſſed only ſeven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned ſpeedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journies by ſea and land.

SECT. VI. *Reign of* ANTIGONUS, *of only two years duration.*

(g) IT was not ſo eaſy for Herod to eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to reſign a throne, which had coſt him ſo much pains and money to acquire. He diſputed it with him very vigorouſly for almoſt two years.

Herod,

(g) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

* *Ariſtobulus was the ſon of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, ſon of Ariſtobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; ſo that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his perſon.*

Herod, *(b)* who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the ſiege of Jeruſalem, which he inveſted at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Soſius, governor of Syria, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilſt the works neceſſary to the ſiege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length conſummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeſeen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their conſummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of king Ariſtobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the ſecond, and thereby grand-daughter to thoſe two brothers. She was a princeſs of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the ſex. The attachment of the Jews to the Aſmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by eſpouſing her, he ſhould find no difficulty in gaining their affections, which was one of his reaſons for conſummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jeruſalem, Soſius and he, having joined their forces, preſſed the ſiege in concert with the utmoſt vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at leaſt 60,000 men. The place however held out againſt them many months with exceeding reſolution, and if the beſieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and reſolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better ſkilled in thoſe things than them, carried the place at length after a ſiege of ſomething more than ſix months.

(i) The Jews being driven from their poſts, the enemy entered on all ſides, and made themſelves maſters of the city. And to revenge the obſtinate reſiſtance they had made, and the pains they had ſuffered during ſo long and difficult a ſiege, they filled all quarters of Jeruſalem with blood and ſlaughter, plundered and deſtroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmoſt to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus ſeeing all loſt, came and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius in the moſt ſubmiſſive and moſt abject manner. He was put in chains, and ſent to Antony, as ſoon as he arrived

(b) A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. i. 13. *(i)* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

rived at Antioch. He deſigned at firſt to have reſerved him for triumph; but Herod, who did not think himſelf ſafe as long as that branch of the royal family ſurvived, would not let him reſt till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large ſum of money *(k)*. He was proceeded againſt in form, condemned to die, and had the ſentence executed upon him in the ſame manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was faſtened to a ſtake; a treatment with which the Romans had never uſed any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Aſmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa.

This ſingular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the ſovereign authority over the Jews was given to a ſtranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was intereſted, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and diſtinguiſhed them by a peculiar characteriſtick from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal intereſt in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve ſons, aſſembled round his bed, what would happen in the ſeries of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, after whom they were called. Amongſt the other predictions of that patriarch, concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now ſpeak: *The (l) ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be. The ſceptre* or *rod* (for the Hebrew ſignifies both) implies here the authority and ſuperiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Meſſiah; the fact is therefore inconteſtable, and is reduced to two eſſential points. The firſt is, that as long as the tribe of Judah ſhall ſubſiſt, it ſhall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the ſecond, that it ſhall ſubſiſt, and form a body of a republick, governed by its laws and magiſtrates, till the Meſſiah comes.

The

(k) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 405. *(l)* Gen. xlix. 10.

The firſt point is verified in the ſeries of the hiſtory of the Iſraelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; thoſe who would be more fully informed may conſult the explanation of Geneſis lately publiſhed *.

For the ſecond point, we have only to conſider it with the leaſt attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in conſequence ſtranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and ſuperiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were firſt taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the ſupremacy, it was no longer a body ſubſiſting, from which the magiſtrates were taken. It was manifeſt, therefore, that the Meſſiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the reſt, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus Veſpaſian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before thoſe times the Meſſiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accompliſhment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right uſe of hiſtory, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the courſe of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jeruſalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the ſovereignty for himſelf, but for another. It was the groſſeſt injuſtice to give it to a ſtranger, whilſt there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod ſhould be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth ſhould ſooner paſs away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were neceſſary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the hiſtory of the Parthians, from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of CRASSUS, *which is related at large.*

THE Parthian empire was one of the moſt powerful and moſt conſiderable that ever was in the eaſt. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itſelf by little and little over all Aſia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be

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* *By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jaques.*

474 years; of which 254 years were before Jeſus Chriſt, and 220 after him. Arſaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his ſucceſſors were called Arſacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Perſian, having overcome and ſlain Artabanus, the laſt of thoſe kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Perſians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the ſon of Mammæus. I ſhall only ſpeak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jeſus Chriſt, and ſhall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Craſſus, which I ſhall relate in all its extent.

I have obſerved elſewhere what gave *(m)* Arſaces I. occaſion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in poſſeſſion of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had cauſed himſelf to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the ſame time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, ſurnamed *Theos*.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus *(n)*, who ſucceeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to ſubdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himſelf, and was made priſoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwiſe Arſaces II. brother of the firſt.

Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great *(o)*, was more ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. He marched into the eaſt, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He alſo entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned ſoon after with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arſaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him in re-conquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards againſt Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was alſo obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRIAPATIUS, the ſon of Arſaces II. ſucceeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldeſt ſon.

(q) Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own iſſue, upon account of his extraordinary

(m) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. Vol. VI. *(n)* A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. Vol. VI. *(o)* A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Vol. VI. *(p)* A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. *(q)* A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

* *The Abbe Longuerue, in his Latin Diſſertation upon the Arſacides, aſcribes what is here ſaid to Artabanus, whom he places between Arſaces II. and Priapatius. Juſtin ſays nothing of them.*

ordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greateſt kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator priſoner.

(r) PHRAATES II. ſucceeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched againſt him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himſelf overthrown, and killed in the laſt, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the deſign of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and loſt his life in a battle.

(s) ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his ſtead, and died ſoon after.

His ſucceſſor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Juſtin ſays *(t)*, that his great actions acquired him the ſurname of *Great*.

He declared war againſt the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to ſend him his ſon Tigranes as an an hoſtage. *(u)* The latter was afterwards ſet upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themſelves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war againſt the Romans.

(x) Antiochus Euſebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

(y) It was the ſame Mithridates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, who ſent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who cauſed him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus *(z)*, who reigned at Damaſcus, beſieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops ſent to the aid of Philip, and carried priſoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours poſſible. He died there of diſeaſe.

Mithridates II. died *(a)*, after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his ſubjects. The domeſtick troubles, with which his death was followed, conſiderably weakened the

(r) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 3. *(s)* A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. *(t)* Juſtin. p. 115 *(u)* A. M 3909. *(x)* A. M. 3912. *(y)* A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90. *(z)* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 22. *(a)* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

the Parthian empire, and made his loſs ſtill more ſenſible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took ſeveral others from them. He paſſed the Euphrates, and made himſelf maſter of Syria and Phœnicia.

During theſe troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almoſt nothing more is known than their names.

(b) PHRAATES, the ſon of the latter, was he, who cauſed himſelf to be ſurnamed THE GOD.

He ſent ambaſſadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the ſame time ſecret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Salluſt has preſerved.

(c) Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war againſt Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger againſt his father, and breaks with Pompey.

(d) After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldeſt ſon takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almoſt at the ſame time. Artavaſdes his ſon ſucceeds him.

Mithridates *(e)*, expelled his kingdom either by his own ſubjects, to whom he had rendered himſelf odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne; but without effect. *(f)* He takes up arms in his own defence. Beſieged in Babylon, and warmly preſſed, he ſurrenders to Orodes, who conſidering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, cauſes him to be put to death; by which means ORODES becomes peaceable poſſeſſor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad *(g)*, that he had no reaſon to expect. Craſſus had lately been created conſul at Rome, with Pompey for the ſecond time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Craſſus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; becauſe it favoured the deſign he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia.

(b) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. *(c)* A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. *(d)* A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56. *(e)* Juſtin. l. xlii c. 4. *(f)* A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. *(g)* A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Craſſ. p. 552, 554.

When he was in company, even with people he ſcarce knew, he could not moderate his tranſports. Amongſt his friends, with whom he was under leſs reſtraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and ſeemed to forget himſelf in a ſtrange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conqueſt of ſome neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: he flattered himſelf with doing ſuch things, as ſhould make the great exploits of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and thoſe of Pompey againſt Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in compariſon with his. He had already overran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remoteſt ſeas, and the extremities of the eaſt. However, in the inſtructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his deſign againſt it was his darling paſſion. Such a beginning forebodes no ſucceſs.

His departure had beſides ſomething more inauſpicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppoſe his going; and was joined by many people, who could not ſuffer him to ſet out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war againſt a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in conſequence, having in vain oppoſed the departure of Craſſus, made haſte to the gate of the city through which he was to paſs, and ſet a cauldron full of fire before him. When Craſſus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the moſt terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all preſent tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Craſſus have been regarded by many writers as the accompliſhment.

Nothing could ſtop him. Superior to all oppoſition, he continued his march, arrived at Brunduſium, and though the ſea was very tempeſtuous, embarked, and loſt abundance of ſhips in his paſſage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Craſſus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the* * *twelfth hour of the day.* *And you, Lord Craſſus,* replied Dejotarus, *are not too early in ſetting out to make war againſt the Parthians.* For Craſſus was at that time upwards of ſixty years

* *The twelfth hour was the end of the day.*

years old, and his countenance made him ſtill look older than he was.

He had been informed, *(b)* that there were conſiderable treaſures in the temple of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himſelf maſter of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Beſides the other riches, which amounted to very conſiderable ſums, in it there was a beam of gold, incloſed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that uſe: this was known only by Eleazar the prieſt, who kept the treaſures of the ſanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Craſſus's march to Jeruſalem, to ſave the other riches, which were almoſt all of them depoſited in the temple by private perſons, diſcovered the golden beam to Craſſus, and ſuffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the reſt. Was he ſo ignorant to imagine any thing ſacred with avarice? Craſſus took the beam of gold, and notwithſtanding made the reſt of the treaſures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing ſucceeded at firſt as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any oppoſition, paſſed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the inſatiable deſire of enriching himſelf by the plunder of a country which was ſuppoſed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and ſeveral treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprize to give a juſt pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Craſſus in conſequence was maſter of the field, and over-ran without oppoſition the greateſt part of Meſopotamia. He took alſo ſeveral cities with no reſiſtance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occaſion, it had been eaſy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Cteſiphon, to have ſeized them, and made himſelf maſter of all Babylonia, as he had done of Meſopotamia. But inſtead of purſuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot and 1000 horſe to

(b) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

ſecure the cities which had ſurrendered to him, he repaſſed the Euphrates, and puts his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his ſole employment was to amaſs money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his ſon, whom Cæſar ſent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with ſeveral of the military crowns, given by the general to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 choſen horſe.

Of all the faults committed by Craſſus in this expedition, which were very conſiderable, the greateſt undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his haſty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without ſtaying, and to have ſeized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, inſtead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cauſe of his ruin.

Whilſt he was re-aſſembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambaſſadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commiſſions in few words. They told him, that if that army was ſent by the Romans againſt the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a concluſion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Craſſus, who, againſt the opinion of his country, and to ſatiate his private avarice, had taken arms againſt them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their maſter was well diſpoſed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Craſſus, and to ſuffer the Romans in his dominions, rather ſhut up than keeping poſſeſſion of cities, to depart with their lives and rings ſafe. They ſpoke no doubt of the garriſons left by Craſſus in the conquered places. Craſſus anſwered this diſcourſe only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They ſhould have his anſwer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the moſt ancient of the ambaſſadors, named Vahiſes, made an anſwer, laughing, and ſhewing him the palm of his hand; *Craſſus, you will ſooner ſee hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The ambaſſadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he muſt prepare for war.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit *(i)*, Craſſus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to aſſemble a very great army, to make head againſt him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in perſon with one

(i) A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Craſſ. p. 354.

one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he ſent the other into Meſopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook ſeveral of the places Craſſus had made himſelf maſter of the year before.

About the ſame time ſome Roman ſoldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had eſcaped out of the cities of Meſopotamia, where they had been in garriſon, of which the Parthians had already retaken ſome, and were beſieging the reſt, came to Craſſus, and related things to him highly capable of diſquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had ſeen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had alſo been witneſſes of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they beſieged. They added, that they were troops not to be eſcaped when they purſued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the ſame time of an aſtoniſhing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, againſt which it was impoſſible to defend.

This diſcourſe infinitely abated the courage and boldneſs of the Roman ſoldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had ſo eaſily overthrown; and flattered themſelves that the whole difficulty of the war would conſiſt in the length of the way, and the purſuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now ſaw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This diſcouragement roſe ſo high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was neceſſary for Craſſus, before he advanced farther, to aſſemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Craſſus liſtened to no other advice, but of thoſe who preſſed him to begin his march, and to make all poſſible expedition.

What encouraged him the moſt, and confirmed him in that reſolution, was the arrival of Artabaſus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horſe, which were part of his guards; adding, that beſides theſe, he had 10,000 cuiraſſiers, and 30,000 foot at his ſervice. But he adviſed him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Meſopotamia, and told him, that he muſt enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reaſons with which he ſupported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horſe, in which the greateſt ſtrength of their army conſiſted, would be

rendered entirely uſeleſs to them: that if they took this rout, he ſhould be in a condition to ſupply the army with all neceſſaries; inſtead of which, if he marched by the way of Meſopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be neceſſary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the center of the enemy's dominions; that in thoſe plains, the horſe would have all poſſible advantages againſt him; and, laſtly, that he muſt croſs ſeveral ſandy deſarts, where the troops might be in great diſtreſs for want of water and proviſions. The counſel was excellent, and the reaſons unanſwerable: but Craſſus, blinded by Providence, which intended to puniſh the ſacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jeruſalem, deſpiſed all that was ſaid to him. He only deſired Artabaſus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as ſoon as poſſible.

I have ſaid, that Providence blinded Craſſus, which is ſelf-evident in a great meaſure. But a Pagan writer makes the ſame remark upon it; this is Dion Caſſius, a very judicious hiſtorian, and at the ſame time a warrior. He ſays, that the Romans under Craſſus "had no ſalutary view, "and were either ignorant upon all occaſions of what was "neceſſary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; ſo "that one would have thought, that, condemned and purſued by ſome divinity, they could neither make uſe of "their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewiſh nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Craſſus made haſte therefore to ſet forward. He had ſeven legions of foot, near 4000 horſe, and as many light-armed ſoldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men, that is to ſay, one of the fineſt armies the Romans ever ſet on foot. When his troops paſſed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the ſoldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the ſame time a black cloud, out of which burſt an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were ſeized with fear and ſadneſs. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the beſt manner he was able, promiſing them with an oath, that they ſhould march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not one of them ſhould return that way. Thoſe laſt

laſt words, which were ambiguous, and had eſcaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greateſt trouble and diſmay. Craſſus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a ſpirit of obſtinacy and haughtineſs, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the ſenſe of thoſe words, to re-aſſure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His ſcouts, whom he had ſent for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a ſingle man to be ſeen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horſe, which ſeemed to have fled ſuddenly, as if they had been purſued.

Upon this advice, Craſſus confirmed himſelf in his hopes, and his ſoldiers began to deſpiſe the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to ſtand a charge, and come to blows with them. Caſſius adviſed him at leaſt to approach ſome town, where they had a garriſon, in order to reſt the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what deſigns they had in view; or, if Craſſus did not approve that counſel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; becauſe, by always keeping upon the coaſt of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to ſurround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, proviſions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might ſtand in need. This Caſſius was Craſſus's queſtor, and the ſame who afterwards killed Cæſar.

Craſſus, after having conſidered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the addreſs to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly ſerved under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman ſoldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Craſſus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already ſpread an univerſal terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himſelf, and to carry them the ſhorteſt way. Craſſus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a ſpecious turn to what he propoſed, gave entirely into the ſnare, notwithſtanding the

preſſing inſtances of Caſſius, and ſome others, who ſuſpected that impoſtor's deſign.

Craſſus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having perſuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him acroſs the plain by a way at firſt level and eaſy, but which at length became difficult from the deep ſands, on which the army found itſelf engaged in the midſt of a vaſt country all bare, and of a frightful drineſs, where the eye could diſcover neither end or boundary, nor the troops hope to find reſt and refreſhment. If thirſt, and the fatigue of the way, diſcouraged the Romans, the proſpect of the country alone threw them into a deſpair ſtill more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant or brook; not ſo much as an hill, nor a ſingle blade of graſs; nothing was to be ſeen all round but heaps of burning ſand.

This gave juſt reaſon to ſuſpect ſome treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabaſus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Craſſus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to ſupport, prevented him from ſending the aid he had promiſed; but that he adviſed him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces againſt the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at leaſt to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and ſuch places as were commodious for the horſe, and to keep always cloſe to the mountains. Craſſus, inſtead of giving ear to theſe wiſe counſels, flew out againſt them that gave them; and without vouchſafing to write an anſwer to Artabaſus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at preſent to conſider the affairs "of Armenia: I ſhall go thither ſoon, and ſhall then puniſh "Artabaſus for his treachery."

Craſſus was ſo full of his Arab, and ſo blinded by his artful ſuggeſtions, that he had continued to follow him without the leaſt diſtruſt, notwithſtanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the ſandy deſart we have mentioned. The traitor then made his eſcape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of ſome days in a deſart of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the ſcouts came in full ſpeed to inform Craſſus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldneſs to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and conſternation. Craſſus

was

was more affected with it than the reſt. He made all poſſible haſte to draw up his army in battle. At firſt, following the advice of Caſſius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to ſurround him; he poſted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in cloſe order, he made them form a large hollow ſquare, facing on all ſides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horſe near it, in order that each part, being equally ſuſtained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater ſecurity and boldneſs. He gave one of the wings to Caſſius, the other to his young ſon Craſſus, and poſted himſelf in the center.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the ſoldiers, from the exceeding drought and exceſſive heat.

Moſt of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to reſt there during the night; that in the mean time, all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and diſpoſition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Craſſus ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the ardour of his ſon, and of the horſe under his command, who preſſed him to lead them againſt the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occaſion for refreſhment ſhould eat under arms in their ranks; and ſcarce allowing them time for that purpoſe, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not ſlowly, and halting ſometimes, but with rapidity, and as faſt as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either ſo numerous or ſo terrible, as they had been repreſented, which was a ſtratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greateſt part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightneſs of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themſelves with their veſts or with ſkins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no ſooner given the ſignal of battle, than the whole field reſounded with dreadful cries, and the

* *The Roman cohort was a body of infantry conſiſting of five or ſix hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.*

moſt frightful noiſe. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made uſe of a great number of hollow inſtruments, covered with leather, and having bells of braſs round them, which they ſtruck violently againſt each other, the noiſe made by theſe inſtruments was rude and terrible, and ſeemed like the roaring of wild beaſts, joined with claps of thunder. Thoſe Barbarians had well obſerved, that of all the ſenſes none diſorder the ſoul more than the hearing; that it ſtrikes upon, and affects it the moſt immediately, and is the moſt ſudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and diſmay into which this noiſe had caſt the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a ſudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightneſs of their helmets and cuiraſſes, which were of burning ſteel, and glittered like ſun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horſes added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handſome, well-made, of an advantageous ſtature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien ſeemed to promiſe. For he painted after the faſhion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dreſſed with art; whereas the Parthians ſtill perſevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and ſuch as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At firſt the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having obſerved the depth of the hollow ſquare, ſo well cloſed, and even, in which the troops ſtood firm and ſupported each other ſucceſsfully, they fell back, and retired in a ſeeming confuſion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much aſtoniſhed to ſee their whole army ſurrounded on all ſides. Craſſus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute thoſe orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themſelves by their heavy-armed foot.

Their diſorder and diſmay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of thoſe arrows, againſt which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themſelves to ſhooting at a diſtance, without its being poſſible for them to miſs, though they had endeavoured it, ſo cloſe were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds,

wounds, becauſe drawing their bows to the utmoſt, the ſtrings diſcharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuoſity and force that nothing could reſiſt.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all ſides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and ſuffered no leſs than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual diſcharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the moſt expert in that exerciſe after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wiſely conceived; for in flying they ſaved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians, after having exhauſted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they ſupported their diſtreſs with valour and reſolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither thoſe, who had exhauſted their quivers, wheeled about to repleniſh them, Craſſus, loſing almoſt all courage, ſent orders to his ſon to endeavour, whatever it coſt him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely ſurrounded by them; for they were principally intent againſt him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Craſſus, therefore at the head of 1300 horſe, 500 archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſurround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to ſtand before a body of troops that came on with ſo good an aſpect, or rather deſigned to draw off young Craſſus, as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Craſſus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *They don't ſtand us*, puſhed on full ſpeed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horſe, piqued themſelves upon not ſtaying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerneſs, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to purſue, till being at a great diſtance from their main body, they diſcovered their error; for thoſe who ſeemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Craſſus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not

* *They conſiſted of near* 6000 *men.*

fail to attack them, and come to cloſe fight. But thoſe Barbarians contented themſelves with oppoſing him in front with their heavy-armed horſe, and ſent out detachments of their light horſe, that wheeling about, and ſurrounding them on all ſides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the ſame time, by ſtirring up the heaps of ſand, they raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the Romans could neither ſee nor ſpeak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow ſpace, and keeping cloſe order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow ſhot at them, and died by ſlow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to ſupport the pains they ſuffered, they rolled themſelves upon the ſands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquiſite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated acroſs their veins, and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increaſed their pains.

Moſt of them died in this manner; and thoſe, who were ſtill alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Craſſus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horſe, they ſhewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground; ſo that it was equally impoſſible for them either to defend themſelves, or fly. Putting himſelf therefore at the head of his horſe, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himſelf boldly amongſt the ſquadrons, but with great diſadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and ſhort javelins, ſtruck againſt armour either of excellent ſteel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and ſtrong ſpears. Theſe Gauls were troops in whom young Craſſus placed the greateſt confidence, and with whom he did moſt wonderful exploits. For thoſe troops took hold of the ſpears of the Parthians, and cloſing with them, ſeized them by the neck, and threw them off their horſes upon the ground, where they lay without power to ſtir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horſes, crept under thoſe of the enemy, and thruſt their ſwords into their bellies. The horſes, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But

But what gave the Gauls moſt trouble, was heat and thirſt; for they were not accuſtomed to ſupport them. They loſt alſo the greateſt part of their horſes, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body killed themſelves upon their ſpears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Craſſus, who had received ſeveral dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance, a riſing bank of ſand, to which they retired. They faſtened their horſes in the center, and made an encloſure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would aſſiſt them conſiderably in defending themſelves againſt the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwiſe. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it ſome relaxation, whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground ſhewing them over each other's heads, and thoſe in the rear moſt, they were all expoſed to the enemy's ſhot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians ſhowered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy deſtiny, in periſhing miſerably, without being able to make uſe of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Craſſus had two Greeks with him, who had ſettled in that country in the city of Carræ. Thoſe two young men, touched with compaſſion to ſee him in ſo ſad a condition, preſſed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Iſchnes, which had eſpouſed the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon ſo many brave men, who died out of love for him.* A noble ſentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as faſt as they could, and embracing them, diſmiſſed them the ſervice. For himſelf, not being able to made uſe of his hand, which was ſhot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domeſticks to thruſt his ſword through him, and preſented his ſide to him. The principal officers killed themſelves, and many of thoſe that remained were ſlain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred priſoners, and after having cut off young Craſſus's head, marched immediately againſt his father.

The latter, after having ordered his ſon to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and purſued vigorouſly, had reſumed ſome courage, and the more, becauſe thoſe who oppoſed him, ſeemed to abate

abate conſiderably of their ardour; for the greateſt part of them were gone with the reſt againſt young Craſſus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a ſmall hill in his rear, in hopes that his ſon would ſpeedily return from the purſuit.

Of a great number of officers, ſent ſucceſſively by his ſon to inform him of the danger he was in, the greateſt part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, got to his preſence, and declared to him that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Craſſus was ſtruck with ſuch a diverſity of afflicting thoughts, and his reaſon thereby ſo much diſturbed, that he was no longer capable of ſeeing or hearing any thing. However, the deſire of ſaving his ſon and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Craſſus, arrived that moment with great cries and ſongs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Craſſus upon the end of a ſpear, approached the Romans, and inſulting them with the moſt ſcornful bravadoes, they aſked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: *For*, ſaid they, *it is impoſſible that a young man of ſuch extraordinary valour and bravery ſhould be the ſon of ſo baſe and cowardly a father as Craſſus.*

This ſight exceedingly diſpirited the Romans, and inſtead of exciting the height of anger, and the deſire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and diſmay. Craſſus, however, ſhewed more conſtancy and courage on his diſgrace, than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out, " Romans, this mourning regards only me. The for-
" tune and glory of Rome are ſtill invulnerable and invin-
" cible, whilſt you continue firm and intrepid. If you have
" any compaſſion for a father, who has juſt now loſt a ſon,
" whoſe valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and
" reſentment againſt the Barbarians. Deprive them of their
" inſolent joy, puniſh their cruelty, and do not ſuffer your-
" ſelves to be caſt down by my misfortune. There is a ne-
" ceſſity for experiencing ſome loſs, when we aſpire at great
" atchievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor
" Scipio, Antiochus, without coſting them ſome blood. It
" is after the greateſt defeats that Rome has acquired the
" greateſt victories. It is not by the favour of fortune ſhe has
" attained

" attained to ſo high a degree of power, but by her pa-
" tience and fortitude in ſupporting herſelf with vigour
" againſt adverſity."

Craſſus endeavoured by remonſtrances of this kind to reanimate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raiſe the cry of battle, he perceived the general diſcouragement of his army, even in that cry itſelf, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and ſtrenuous.

The charge being given in conſequence, the light-horſe of the Parthians diſperſed themſelves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, diſtreſſed them extremely with their arrows, whilſt the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to cloſe up in one great body; except thoſe, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occaſioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themſelves upon the horſe, like men in deſpair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occaſioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thruſt their lances thro' their bodies with ſuch force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; ſaying, they would grant Craſſus only that night to lament for his ſon, unleſs he ſhould find it more expedient to conſult his own ſafety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arſaces. They then encamped in the preſence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they ſhould meet with little or no difficulty in compleating its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dreſſing their wounded, of whom the greateſt part died in the moſt horrible torments. Every man was ſolely intent upon his particular diſtreſs. For they all ſaw plainly, that they could not eſcape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themſelves into that immenſe plain, of which they ſaw no end. Beſides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would diſcover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though

Though they were perfectly ſenſible, that Craſſus alone was the cauſe of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in deſiring to ſee his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obſcure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, ſays Plutarch, a great example of the inſtability of fortune; to wiſe and conſiderate perſons, a ſtill greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to ſuch a degree, that he could not bear to be leſs at Rome than the firſt of ſo many millions of men, and thought himſelf low and mean, becauſe there were two above him, Cæſar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius approached him, and endeavoured to make him riſe, and to conſole and encourage him. But ſeeing him entirely depreſſed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all conſolation and remonſtrance, they aſſembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was neceſſary to retire immediately, they decamped without ſound of trumpet. This was done at firſt with great ſilence. But ſoon after the ſick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themſelves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confuſion, cries, ſhrieks, and horrible lamentations; ſo that the troops, who marched foremoſt, were ſeized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or buſying themſelves in ſetting the wounded who followed them upon the beaſts of carriage, and in diſmounting ſuch as were leſs ſick, they loſt abundance of time. There were only 300 horſe, under the command of Ignatius, who did not ſtop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the ſentinels upon the walls, and when they anſwered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without ſaying any more, or letting them know who he was, he puſhed on with all poſſible expedition to the bridge Craſſus had laid over the Euphrates, and ſaved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the meſſage he had ſent to Coponius by thoſe guards was of great ſervice to Craſſus, for that governor, wiſely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown perſon had given him that intelligence, that it implied ſome diſaſter, gave orders immediately for the garriſon to ſtand to

their arms. And when he was informed of the way Craſſus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not purſue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thouſand, to the ſword; and their cavalry being diſperſed over the plain after thoſe who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found ſtraggling on all ſides.

One of Craſſus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having ſeparated in the night from the groſs of the army with four cohorts, miſſed his way, and was found the next morning upon a ſmall eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himſelf with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his ſoldiers killed, except twenty, who, with ſword in hand, fell on the enemy in deſpair, in order to open themſelves a paſſage through them. The Barbarians were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a paſſage. They arrived ſafe at Carræ.

At the ſame time Surena received falſe advice, that Craſſus had eſcaped with the beſt of his troops, and that thoſe who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of purſuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory loſt, but ſtill uncertain whether it were or not, deſired to be better informed, in order to his reſolving either to beſiege Carræ, if Craſſus was there, or to purſue him if he had quitted it. He therefore diſpatched one of his interpreters, who ſpoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to deſire to ſpeak with Craſſus himſelf or Caſſius, and to ſay, That Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Craſſus accepted the propoſal with joy. Soon after ſome Arabian ſoldiers came from the Barbarians who knew Craſſus and Caſſius by ſight, from having ſeen them in the camp before the battle. Thoſe ſoldiers approached the place, and ſeeing Caſſius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his maſter, and abandon Meſopotamia to him: that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the laſt extremities.

Caſſius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Caſſius ſhould

ſhould immediately be fixed. The Arabians aſſured him, that they would go and do their utmoſt to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not eſcape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at firſt with extreme haughtineſs, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they muſt previouſly deliver up Craſſus and Caſſius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at ſuch exceeding deceit, told Craſſus, that it was neceſſary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without loſing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ ſhould know this deſign, till the inſtant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it firſt, and by Craſſus himſelf, who confided it to him, and choſe him for his guide, relying very injudiciouſly upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in conſequence were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their cuſtom to engage in the night, the impoſtor, to prevent Craſſus from getting ſo much ground as might make it impoſſible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans ſometimes by one way, ſometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marſhy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and neceſſary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themſelves out of that labyrinth.

There were ſome who, ſuſpecting that it was with no good deſign Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refuſed at laſt to follow him, and Caſſius himſelf returned towards Carræ. By haſty marches he eſcaped into Syria with five hundred horſe. Moſt of the reſt, who had truſty guides, gained the paſs of the mountains called *Sinnachi*, and were in a place of ſafety before the break of day. The latter might be about 5000 men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Craſſus, the day overtook him, ſtill embarraſſed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in thoſe marſhy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horſe, and five lictors who carried the faſces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almoſt upon him, and he had

no

no more than twelve ſtadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as ſoon as poſſible another ſummit of thoſe mountains, leſs impracticable to the horſe, and in conſequence not ſo ſecure. This was under that of the *Sinnachi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the ſpace between them. Octavius therefore ſaw plainly the danger that threatened Craſſus, and deſcended firſt himſelf from thoſe eminences, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, to his aid. But he was ſoon followed by the reſt, who, reproaching themſelves for their cowardice, flew to his aſſiſtance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians ſo rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Craſſus in the midſt of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy ſhould approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, ſeeing that the Parthians, already repulſed, went on with leſs vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans ſhould make the mountains, that it would be impoſſible for him to take them, he had again recourſe to ſtratagem to amuſe Craſſus. He gave ſecret orders, that ſome priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, after having poſted a number of his ſoldiers around them, who ſeeming in diſcourſe together, ſaid, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averſe to the continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his deſign was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Craſſus with great humanity. And that the effects might agree with their expreſſions, as ſoon as the priſoners were releaſed, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unſtrung, and arms extended, invited Craſſus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He ſaid with a loud voice, that, contrary to the king his maſter's will, and through the neceſſity of a juſt defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at preſent he was diſpoſed to treat them with mildneſs and favour, by granting them liberty to retire with entire ſecurity on his part. We have obſerved on more than one occaſion, that the peculiar characteriſtick of theſe Barbarians was to promote the ſucceſs of their deſigns by fraud and treachery, and to make no

ſcruple

ſcruple of breaking through their engagements upon ſuch occaſions.

The troops of Craſſus lent a willing ear to this diſcourſe of Surena's, and expreſſed exceeding joy at it: but Craſſus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom ſo ſudden a change was very ſuſpicious, did not eaſily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The ſoldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went ſo far as to accuſe him of cowardice; charging him with expoſing them to be ſlaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not ſo much as the courage to ſpeak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Craſſus at firſt had recourſe to entreaties, and remonſtrated to them, that by maintaining their ground, for the reſt of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might eaſily ſave themſelves when night came on: he even ſhewed them the way, and exhorted them not to fruſtrate ſuch hopes of their approaching ſafety. But ſeeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by ſtriking their ſwords upon their ſhields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to deſcend, and turning about, he only ſaid theſe few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and "captains here preſent, you ſee the neceſſity I am under "of taking a ſtep I would willingly avoid, and are wit-"neſſes of the indignities and violence I ſuffer. But I beg "you, when you have retired in ſafety, that you will tell "all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mo-"ther, that Craſſus periſhed, deceived by the enemy, and "not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not reſolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Craſſus diſmiſſed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The firſt perſons the Barbarians ſent to him were two Greeks, who diſmounting from their horſes, ſaluted him with profound reſpect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to ſend ſome of his attendants and Surena would ſatisfy him, that himſelf, and thoſe with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions poſſible. Craſſus replied, that had he ſet the leaſt value upon his life, he ſhould not have come to have put himſelf into their hands; and ſent two brothers, named Roſcius, to

to know only upon what foot they ſhould treat, and in what number.

Surena cauſed thoſe two brothers to be ſeized and kept priſoners, and advancing on horſeback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as ſoon as he perceived Craſſus, *What do I ſee!* ſaid he, *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horſeback! Let an horſe be brought immediately.* He imagined that Craſſus appeared in that manner before him out of reſpect. Craſſus replied, *That there was no reaſon to be ſurprized that they came to an interview, each after the * cuſtom of his own country. Very good,* returned Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we muſt go to prepare and ſign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans,* added he, *do not always remember your conventions.* At the ſame time he held out his hand to him. Craſſus would have ſent for an horſe; but Surena told him, there was no occaſion for it, and that the king made him a preſent of that.

A horſe was immediately preſented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, ſet him upon it, ſurrounded him, and began to ſtrike the horſe to make him go forwards faſt. Octavius was the firſt, who, offended at ſuch behaviour, took the horſe by the bridle. Petronius ſeconded him, and afterwards all the reſt of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to ſtop the horſe, and to make thoſe retire by force, who preſſed Craſſus forwards. At firſt they puſhed againſt each other with great tumult and diſorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his ſword, killed a groom of thoſe Barbarians. At the ſame time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his ſword behind, which laid him dead upon the ſpot. Petronius, who had no ſhield, received a ſtroke upon his cuiraſs, and leaped from his horſe without being wounded. Craſſus at the ſame moment was killed by a Parthian. Of thoſe that were preſent, ſome were killed fighting around Craſſus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians ſoon followed them thither, and told them, that Craſſus had ſuffered the puniſhment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come

* *Amongſt the Romans the conſul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.*

come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they ſhould ſuffer no ill treatment. Upon this promiſe ſome went down, and put themſelves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and diſperſed on all ſides. But of the latter very few eſcaped; all the reſt were purſued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the ſword.

The loſs of this battle was the moſt terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken priſoners. The reſt made their eſcape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of theſe wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Caſſius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one ſenſe to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, becauſe they had leſs reaſon to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a ſtate of humiliation. She had already loſt many battles, and had no thought but of defending herſelf, and repulſing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, reſpected, and formidable to all nations: ſhe was miſtreſs of the moſt potent kingdoms of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the moſt powerful enemies ſhe ever had; yet in the moſt exalted height of her greatneſs, ſhe ſaw her glory ſuddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the aſſemblage of the eaſtern nations, whoſe valour ſhe deſpiſed, and whom ſhe reckoned already amongſt her conqueſts. So complete a victory ſhewed thoſe haughty conquerors of the world a rival remote people, capable of making head againſt, and diſputing the empire of the univerſe with them; and not only of ſetting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own ſafety. It ſhewed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty ſea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be reſtrained for the future within them.

The check received by Craſſus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained ſome time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The ſtandards of the vanquiſhed legions were always ſhewn by

by them as ſights. The * priſoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the ſhame of Rome, as Horace emphatically deſcribes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the ſtandard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Auguſtus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, conſented to reſtore their ſtandards and priſoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Auguſtus, and the whole empire, as a moſt glorious triumph; ſo much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and ſo much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if poſſible, to the leaſt trace! For themſelves they never could forget it. Cæſar was upon the point of ſetting out againſt the Parthians to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the ſame deſign, which turned to his diſgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the moſt important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their moſt warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The ſurname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondeſt, and moſt ſenſibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans ſometimes paſſed the Euphrates to extend their conqueſts beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the ſame, to carry their arms and devaſtation into Syria, and even into Paleſtine. In a word, the Romans could never ſubject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of braſs, which with impregnable force reſiſted the moſt violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabaſus. The latter, upon the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to Craſſus, perceiving, by the falſe meaſures he took, that the Romans were infallibly loſt, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the ſon of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilſt they were celebrating

* Mileſne Craſſi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? Et hoſtium
(Proh Curia, inverſique mores!)
Conſenuit ſocerorum in armis
Sub rego Medo, Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Craſſus were brought to them, which Surena had cauſed to be cut off, and ſent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that ſight, and it was ſaid that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the inſatiable thirſt which Craſſus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory. His maſter, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after. There are princes, near whom too ſhining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be ſerved by ſuperior talents, capable of eclipſing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus obſerves of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not ſufficiently repay the ſervice his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, inſtead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extrordinary merit. He was of conſummate ability at thirty years of age, and ſurpaſſed all men of his times in valour. He was, beſides that, perfectly well made, and of the moſt advantageous ſtature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had alſo more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greateſt ſubject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the re-eſtabliſhment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, 1000 horſe completely armed, beſides a great number of light-armed troops, and domeſticks, which in all did not amount to leſs than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Caſſius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with ſo much vigour, that they were obliged to repaſs the Euphrates ſhamefully, without effecting any thing.

The

* Deſtrui per hæc fortunam ſuam Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eò uſque læta ſunt dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. *Tacit. Annal. l.* iv. *c.* 18.

The next (k) year the conſuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were aſſigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amuſing himſelf at Rome, Caſſius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, ſon of Orodes king of the Parthians, had paſſed the Euphrates in the beginning of the ſpring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orſaces, an old general, who diſpoſed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he beſieged. Caſſius had ſhut himſelf up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, aſſembled all his forces, and marched to the eaſtern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppoſe an invaſion on that ſide, ſhould the Armenians attempt it, and at the ſame time to be at hand to ſupport Caſſius in caſe of need. He ſent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the ſame view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, ſo that not a ſingle man eſcaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Caſſius and his troops to make a good defence, and ſo much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that deſpairing to carry the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was not far from thence. But they were ſo little ſkilled in attacking towns, that they miſcarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force conſiſt in cavalry, and applied themſelves moſt to field-battle, which ſuited their genius beſt. Caſſius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuſcade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongſt whom was their general Orſaces. The remains of their army repaſſed the Euphrates.

When Cicero ſaw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms againſt the inhabitants of

(k) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. Epiſt. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 1, 8. vii. 2.

mount Amanus, who being ſituate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both thoſe provinces. They made continual incurſions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely ſubjected thoſe mountaineers, and took and demoliſhed all their caſtles and forts. He afterwards marched againſt another barbarous nation, a kind of ſavages, who called themſelves (l) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been ſubjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been maſters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made ſuch diſpoſitions in the country, as very much pleaſed all their neighbours, whom they perpetually haraſſed.

It is Cicero himſelf, who relates theſe circumſtances in ſeveral of his letters. There are two among the reſt, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general, or commander, ought to give a prince, or his miniſtry, an account of a military expedition; with ſuch ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and preciſion, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind conſiſts, are they expreſſed. The firſt is addreſſed to the ſenate and people of Rome, and to the principal magiſtrates; it is the ſecond of his fifteenth book of familiar epiſtles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This laſt is a maſterpiece, wherein Cicero, who paſſionately deſired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and addreſs of eloquence to engage that grave ſenator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (m), that after his return to Rome, the ſenate offered him a triumph, and he refuſed it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæſar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a ſolemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the ſtate was upon the point of falling into the greateſt calamities. His refuſal to triumph in the midſt of the apprehenſions and diſorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the publick good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itſelf could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæſar, and thoſe that followed, the Parthians, declaring ſome times for one, and ſome times for the other party, made ſeveral irruptions into Syria and Paleſtine. But thoſe are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewiſh hiſtories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I ſhall

(l) *Eleuthero-Cilices.* (m) Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

I ſhall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-eſtabliſhing the honour of the nation. He was a ſoldier of fortune, who, from the loweſt condition of *(n)* life, had raiſed himſelf by his merit to the higheſt dignities of the republick. In the war againſt the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Aſculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæſar, under whom he had ſerved in Gaul, and paſſed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and conſul He was the only perſon that triumphed for his exploits againſt the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himſelf.

I have ſaid, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Craſſus and his army, by two ſucceſſive victories gained over thoſe terrible enemies. A third, ſtill greater than the former, compleated the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That *(o)* general, apprehending the Parthians, whoſe preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and paſs the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourſe to this ſtratagem. There was a petty eaſtern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the intereſts of the Parthians, and that he held ſecret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the deſigns of the Romans, which he could diſcover. He reſolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a ſnare he had laid for them.

With that view he had contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He converſed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himſelf to him with great confidence,

(n) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. *(o)* A. M. 3965. Antiq. J. C. 39. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 136. Dion. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.

he obſerved, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not deſign to paſs the Euphrates at Zeugma, as uſual, but a great way lower. For, ſaid he, if they paſs at Zeugma, the country on this ſide is ſo mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army conſiſts, can do us no great hurt. But if they paſs below, there are nothing but plains, where they have all manner of advantages againſt us, and it will be impoſſible for us to make head againſt them. As ſoon as he had imparted this ſecret to him, the ſpy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreſeen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could deſire. Pacorus, inſtead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, loſt abundance of time in the great compaſs he was obliged to take, and in the preparations neceſſary for paſſing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other ſide of the mount Taurus, and found himſelf in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they ſaw that they had not been attacked either in paſſing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though ſituated very advantageouſly upon an eminence, not doubting but they ſhould ſoon make themſelves maſters of it, and that without much reſiſtance. They were miſtaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuoſity, and puſhed them with the utmoſt vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured ſhowers of darts upon the Parthians, they ſoon put them into diſorder, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made at firſt. The ſlaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquiſhed made haſte to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country: but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. Some few eſcaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. Hiſtory obſerves, that this celebrated battle, which ſo well revenged the defeat of Craſſus, was fought exactly on the ſame day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

5 * Orodes

* Orodes was ſo ſtruck with the loſs of this battle, and the death of his ſon, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes. For ſeveral days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nouriſhment. When the exceſs of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to ſpeak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he ſaw him, and called to him; he ſeemed to diſcourſe with him, and as if he were living to ſpeak to him, and hear him ſpeak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and ſhed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more juſt. This was the moſt fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loſs of the prince leſs than that of the army itſelf. For he was the moſt excellent perſon the houſe of the Arſacides had ever produced, for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which conſtitute the truly great prince. He had made himſelf ſo much beloved in Syria, during the little time he reſided there, that never did the people expreſs more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than for the perſon of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear ſon Pacorus had thrown him, he found himſelf extremely embarraſſed about the choice of his ſucceſſor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom ſolicited him in favour of her own, and made uſe of all the aſcendency ſhe had over a ſpirit impaired by age and affliction. At laſt he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldeſt and moſt vicious of them all. *(p)* He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when he cauſed all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Euſebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only becauſe their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himſelf. The father, who was ſtill alive, not being able to avoid profeſſing extreme diſpleaſure upon that occaſion, that unnatural ſon ordered him alſo to be put to death. He treated the reſt of his brothers in the ſame manner, and

(p) A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

* Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum ſumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Poſt multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo conſiſtere. Interdum quaſi amiſſum flebiliter dolebat. *Juſtin.*

did not ſpare his own ſon, from the apprehenſion that the people would ſet him upon the throne in his ſtead. It was this prince, ſo cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have ſpoke in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occaſion, but without mentioning either their beginning or ſucceſſion. I ſhall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (p) of Aſia Minor. The Perſians, under whom it was at firſt, had divided it into two parts, and eſtabliſhed two ſatrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whoſe poſſeſſion it fell, ſuffered thoſe two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo ſays, that Ariarathes was the firſt king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. (q) It is probable, that it was about the time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Perſia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threeſcore and ſixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at firſt by a long ſucceſſion of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the laſt, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their hiſtory is almoſt entirely unknown, I ſhall make no mention of it in this place.

(r) ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

(s) Have-

(p) Strabo. l. xii. p. 533, 534. (q) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.
(r) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

(s) Having joined the Perſians in the expedition againſt Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

ARIARATHES II. ſon of the former, (t) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conqueſt of Cappadocia, and had contented himſelf with ſome inſtances of ſubmiſſion.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into poſſeſſion of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his ſide prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thouſand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken priſoner. Perdiccas cauſed him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into poſſeſſion of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. After the death of his father eſcaped into Armenia.

(u) As ſoon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Aradotes king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-aſcended the throne of his anceſtors.

(x) ARIAMNES his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldeſt ſon to Stratonice, the daughter of the ſame Antiochus. He had ſo great an affection for this ſon, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his ſon of the ſame name with himſelf, who was at that time very young.

(y) ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princeſs, who, finding herſelf barren, had recourſe to impoſture. She deceived her huſband, and made him believe that ſhe had two ſons, one of

(s) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (t) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599. (u) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315 (x) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. (y) A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenneſs ceaſing ſome time after, ſhe had two daughters, and then one ſon, who was named Mithridates. She confeſſed the fraud to her huſband, and ſent one of the ſuppoſed children to be brought up at Rome, with a ſmall train, and the other into Ionia. The true ſon took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. ſupplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook againſt the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes ſent (z) ambaſſadors to Rome, to aſk the ſenate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare againſt the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to ſay, two hundred thouſand crowns. The ſenate afterwards abated him half that ſum, at the requeſt of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his ſon-in-law Eumenes, againſt Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themſelves arbiters of the kings of the Eaſt, ſent ambaſſadors to tranſact a treaty between thoſe three princes: but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions ſufficiently hard.

The latter had a ſon of his own name, who loved him in the moſt tender manner, which occaſioned his being ſurnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no leſs affection. He deſired to give him the proofs of it, in reſigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The ſon, who had all poſſible affection and reſpect for a father that ſo well deſerved both, could not reſolve to accept an offer ſo advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to ſo good a heart as his; and repreſented to his father, that he was not one of thoſe who could conſent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and ſincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating

(z) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, &. 39.

* *He is called ſo by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.*

relating the hiſtory, inordinate ambition reſpected nothing, and boldly violated the moſt ſacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. ſurnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As ſoon *(a)* as he aſcended the throne, he ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of philoſophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the reſidence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a ſiſter, whom Ariarathes refuſed to eſpouſe, leſt that alliance ſhould give offence to the Romans. That refuſal extremely prejudiced Demetrius againſt the king of Cappadocia. He ſoon found an occaſion to be revenged, by ſupplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himſelf the brother of *(b)* Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiſcated the eſtates of the greateſt lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never ſuffered ſuch a violence before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reaſon to expect, he depoſited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The uſurper ſent his deputies thither alſo. The ſenate, according to the uſual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom ſhould be divided between the two brothers *(c)* Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the perſon of Attalus king of Pergamus, who ſignalized the beginning of his reign by re-eſtabliſhing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his anceſtors. Ariarathes, to revenge himſelf on the uſurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They oppoſed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of depoſits, which would not admit their giving up that ſum to any one whatſoever, during the life of the perſon who had confided it to their keeping.

Aria-

(a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865. *(b)* Diod. in Excerpt. p. 331, & 336. *(c)* A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

* *Four hundred thouſand crowns.*

Ariarathes had no regard to ſo juſt a repreſentation, and laid waſte their lands without mercy, notwithſtanding which, ſo conſiderable a loſs did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themſelves obliged to obſerve in regard to him, who had confided that depoſit with them.

Holophernes had *(d)* retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conſpiracy with the inhabitants of that city againſt Demetrius his benefactor, whoſe place he had conceived hopes of ſupplying. The conſpiracy was diſcovered, and Holophernes impriſoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more adviſeable to reſerve him, in order to make uſe of him afterwards in the pretenſions he had upon Cappadocia, and the deſign he had formed of dethroning and deſtroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived againſt him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who ſet Alexander Bala upon the throne in his ſtead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans againſt Ariſtonicus, who *(e)* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Pergamus, and periſhed in that war.

He left ſix children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's ſervices, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of thoſe ſix princes, apprehending the loſs of her authority when they ſhould be at age to reign, poiſoned five of them the ſame year their father died. She had treated the ſixth in the ſame manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people ſet him upon the throne, after having deſtroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. *(f)* He married another Laodice, ſiſter of Mithridates Eupator, and had two ſons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law cauſed him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his ſubjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took poſſeſſion of Cappadocia. Mithridates ſent an army thither, drove out the garriſons of Nicomedes, and reſtored the kingdom to his nephew, the ſon of the ſame Ariarathes, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated.

ARI-

(d) Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 11. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

(e) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

(f) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

ARIARATHES VIII. had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when Mithridates preſſed him to recall Gordius from baniſhment, with deſign to rid himſelf of the ſon by the ſame aſſaſſin who had killed the father. That young prince ſhuddered at the propoſal, and raiſed an army to oppoſe the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his meaſures by the hazard of a battle, choſe rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he aſſaſſinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpoſe in the view of the two armies. He ſet his own ſon of only eight years old in his place, cauſed him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor. *(g)* The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, roſe in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Aſia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a diſtemper on him, of which he died ſoon after. Mithridates had re-eſtabliſhed his ſon upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, ſet up an infant of eight years old, to whom he alſo gave the name of Ariarathes, and ſent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expreſsly to Rome to ſupport the impoſture, and to teſtify that ſhe had three ſons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which ſhe produced, was the laſt. Mithridates, on his ſide, ventured to have aſſurances made by Gordius, that this ſon, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the ſon of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war againſt Ariſtonicus. What times were theſe! what a ſeries is here of frauds and impoſtures! The Roman people ſaw through them; and, not to ſupport them on either ſide, decreed that Mithridates ſhould renounce Cappadocia, which for the future ſhould enjoy its liberty, and govern itſelf as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians ſent to Rome to declare that liberty was inſupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may juſtly be aſtoniſhed at the taſte of a people, who could prefer ſlavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wiſe enough to make a moderate uſe of perfect and entire liberty. The Cap-

(g) Juſtin. l. xxxviiii. c. 2.

Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whoſe family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. *(i)* This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-inſtated Ariarathes, ſon of Mithridates. The Romans cauſed Ariobarzanes to be re-inſtated. He was expelled ſome time after by an army ſent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his ſon. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the inſtigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. *(k)* Ariobarzanes, who had eſcaped to Rome before the invaſion, was not reſtored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had conſiderably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His ſon ſucceeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed ſome time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandſon of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero *(l)*, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all poſſible care, as a prince whoſe welfare was dear to the ſenate and people: a glorious teſtimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the ſenate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conſpiracy was on foot againſt him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earneſtly ſolicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averſe to ſuch thoughts during the life of his brother who had no iſſue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to diſpel the ſtorm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were ſucceſsful; he

(i) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mith. p. 176, &c. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla. *(k)* A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. *(l)* A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epiſt. 2 and 4 l. xv. ad Famil. & Epiſt. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat Ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ conſilio & auctoritate, & quod proditoribus ejus ἀπιόντι μοι, non modò ἀδωροδόκητον, præbui, regem, regnumque ſervavi. *Cic. Epiſt.* 20. l. v. *ad Attic.*

he ſaved the king's life and crown by his conſtancy, and a generous diſintereſtedneſs, which rendered him inacceſſible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change ſides. The greateſt danger came from the high-prieſt of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus *(m)*. They were conſecrated to Bellona, and obſerved almoſt the ſame ceremonies in the worſhip of that goddeſs. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we ſpeak in this place. The temple of that goddeſs was endowed with great eſtates, and ſerved by a vaſt number of perſons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and ſo conſiderable, that only the king was his ſuperior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo ſays, that in his time there were above 6000 perſons conſecrated to the ſervice of this temple. From hence the high-prieſt was ſo powerful; and * in the time of which we ſpeak, might have occaſioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himſelf by force of arms, as it was believed he would: for he had troops, both horſe and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and ſubſiſt them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable poſſeſſion of it.

During the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with ſome troops to the latter, who were preſent at the battle of Pharſalia. This, no doubt, was the reaſon that Cæſar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very conſiderable ſums of money from him *(n)*; for that prince repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæſar was then in Egypt, from whence he ſet out to reduce Pharnaces to reaſon. He paſſed through Cappadocia, and made ſuch regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good under-

(m) Strabo. l. xii. p. 535, & 557. *(n)* Cæſar de Bell. Civ. iii. Hiſt. de Bell. Alex.

* Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, ſi ſacerdos armis ſe (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adoleſcens & equitatu & peditatu & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille diſcederet; rexque ſine tumultu ac ſine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. *Cic. Epiſt.* 4. lib. xv. *ad Famil.*

underſtanding, and entirely ſubjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæſar had conquered Pharnaces *(o)*, he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment *(p)* gave the murderers of Cæſar reaſon to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare againſt them; but he refuſed to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a juſt diffidence of him, ſo that Caſſius thought it incumbent upon him not to ſpare him. He attacked him, and having taken him priſoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The poſſeſſion of it was diſputed with him by Siſinna, the eldeſt ſon of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-prieſt of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandſon of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates againſt Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the ſecond war, as we ſhall relate in the twenty-ſecond book *(q)*, and joined the Romans. He left one ſon, named alſo Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed ſix months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-prieſthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His ſon Archelaus poſſeſſed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two ſons by her, Siſinna and Archelaus. *(r)* The firſt diſputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who poſſeſſed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Siſinna. What became of him is not known; hiſtory only tells us, that Ariarathes reaſcended the throne. Five or ſix years after, Mark Antony expelled him *(s)*, and ſet Archelaus, the ſecond ſon of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHELAUS. *(t)* That prince became very powerful. He expreſſed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was fortunate, notwithſtanding that conduct, to eſcape the reſentment of Auguſtus. He was ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, and was almoſt the only one treated with ſo much favour.

He

(o) Diod. l. xlii. p. 183. *(p)* A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii. *(q)* Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116. *(r)* A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. *(s)* A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411. *(t)* A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

He aſſiſted Tiberius *(n)* to re-eſtabliſh Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Auguſtus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great ſervices with Auguſtus, eſpecially when his ſubjects brought accuſations againſt him before that prince. He pleaded his cauſe himſelf, and was the occaſion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his reſidence in the iſland of Eleuſis near the coaſt of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he conſiderably augmented his power. For as the ſons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the adminiſtration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: *(x)* but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who ſaw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the ſons of Agrippa, grandſons of Auguſtus, and his ſons by adoption, were raiſed by degrees above him: * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæſars, and to ſpare himſelf the mortification of being witneſs to their aggrandiſement, demanded and obtained permiſſion to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occaſion to withdraw from buſineſs and the hurry of Rome for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. His retreat was conſidered as a real baniſhment, and people began to neglect him as a perſon in diſgrace, and did not believe it ſafe to appear his friends. † During his ſtay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, reſiding generally at ‡ Eleuſis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, ſays Tacitus, out of pride or haughtineſs, but by the advice of Auguſtus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius Caeſar, appointed governor of the eaſt, was ſent

(u) A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. & l. xii. p. 556. *(x)* A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor ſuus orientium juvenum obſtaret initiis, diſſimulata cauſa conſilii ſui, commeatum ab ſocero atque eodem vitrico acquieſcendi a continuatione laborum petiit. *Paterc.* l. ii. c. 99.

† Rex Archelaus quinquageſimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, inviſus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluiſſet. Nec id Archelaus per ſuperbiam omiſerat, ſed ab intimis Auguſti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæſare, miſſoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

‡ *Eleuſis was but ſix leagues diſtant from Rhodes.* Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

ſent into Armenia by Auguſtus, to appeaſe the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future ſucceſſor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often miſtaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear inſight into futurity. It had been more conſiſtent with prudence and wiſdom in Archelaus to have obſerved ſuch a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is obſerved of Pomponius * Atticus, who during the diviſions, with which the republick was torn at different times, always knew how to render himſelf agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offenſive to him, as it argued an ungrateful diſpoſition in Archelaus. He made him highly ſenſible of this when he became maſter. Archelaus was cited to Rome *(a)*, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without diſſembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in perſon to demand it. This was a ſnare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The † king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He ſet out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and ſaw himſelf proceeded againſt as a criminal. Dion aſſures us, that Archelaus, depreſſed with age, was generally believed to have loſt his reaſon; but that in reality he was perfectly in his ſenſes, and counterfeited the madman becauſe he ſaw no other means of ſaving his life. The ſenate paſſed no ſentence againſt him; but age, the gout, and, more than thoſe, the indignity of the treatment he was made to ſuffer, ſoon occaſioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This

(a) A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

* Hoc quale ſit, facilius exiſtimabit is, qui judicare quantæ ſit ſapientiæ, eorum retinere uſum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non ſolum æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque Antonium, cum ſe uterque principem non ſolum urbis Romanæ ſed orbis terrarum eſſe cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic.* c. xx.

† Ille ignarus doli, vel, ſi intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptuſque immiti a principe, & mox accuſatus a ſenatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, ſed angore, ſimul feſſus ſenio, & quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, inſolita ſunt, finem vitæ ſponte an fato implevit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were ſo conſiderable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himſelf able, from his new acquiſition, to abate the half of a tax he had cauſed to be levied. He even gave that province ſome relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the laſt king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally reſided at Mazaca *(b)*, a city ſituate upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of * Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itſelf into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he cauſed ſmall iſlands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he paſſed part of his life in puerile diverſions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, ſuffered alſo great loſſes by that torrent, for which they inſiſted upon being made amends. They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horſes, aſſes *(c)*, and mules. It was from thence the horſes were brought ſo particularly allotted for the uſe of the emperors, that the conſuls themſelves were forbid to have any of them. It furniſhed alſo great numbers of † ſlaves and falſe witneſſes. The Cappadocians were reported to accuſtom themſelves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the queſtion by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themſelves againſt the pains their falſe witneſs might one day expoſe them to ſuffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury *(d)*, though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who aſcribes to them the having made this manner of ſpeaking common amongſt them; *Lend me your evidence (e), and I'll pay you with mine.*

Cappadocia, generally ſpeaking, was far from being a country of great geniuſes and learned men. It has pro-

(b) Strab. l. 12. p. 537, 539. *(c)* Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Perſii. *(d)* Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10. *(e) Da mihi teſtimonium mutuum.*

* *This Charondas was a celebrated legiſlator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.*

† Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. *Horat.*

duced however ſome very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pauſanias are of that number. It was believed eſpecially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profeſſion of orators; and it became a proverb that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoiſe. S. Baſil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

* Εὑρεῖν ἦν λευκὴν κορώνας πτηνάς τε χελώνας
Εὑρεῖν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

The End of VOL. VII.